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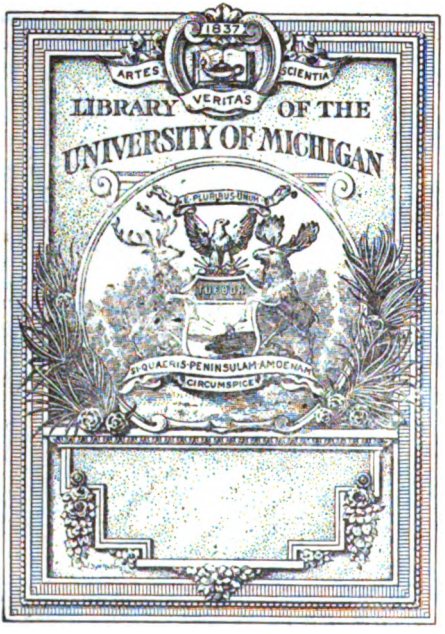

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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW

FOR

APRIL 1908 : JULY 1908

EDITED BY

ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, D.D.

PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON

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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Nº CXXXI. *APRIL* 1908.

ART. I.—THE EDUCATION BILL, 1908.

1. Elementary Education (England and Wales). *A Bill to regulate the conditions on which public money may be applied in aid of Elementary Education in England and Wales, and for other purposes incidental thereto.* Ordered to be brought in by MR. MCKENNA, SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, MR. CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, MR. ATTORNEY-GENERAL, and MR. LOUGH. Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed 24 February 1908. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.)

2. Elementary Education (England and Wales). [H.L.] *A Bill intituled An Act to amend the Acts relating to Elementary Education in England and Wales.* THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH. Ordered to be printed 18th March 1908. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.)

3. *National Society's Annotated Edition of the Education Bill*, 1908. Text of the Bill as introduced into the House of Commons, with Introduction and explanatory Notes. (London: National Society's Depository.)

4. *The New Education Bill.* Full Text with Notes by an Expert and representative Opinions. Reprinted from *The Christian World.* (London: J. Clarke & Co.)

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5. *Letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury to Mr. McKenna.* Published in *The Times*, March 11, 1908. (London: Printing House Square, E.C.)

WE find ourselves again in the position of having to discuss an Education Bill. No doubt our readers would be only too glad if there were no need for this, just as the country would undoubtedly be exceedingly glad if some ending to this controversy could be reached; but so long as the controversy does continue, so long as this most important question regarding the future of the country remains unsettled, it will be our duty, and our readers will desire us, to consider the solutions proposed. If the final result of all this expenditure of labour and passion were to be the passing of a really wise and just Education Act, safeguarding the interests of all sides, and settling, at any rate for a time, the education of the country on a just basis, that labour would not be thrown away.

The general provisions of the Education Bill introduced by Mr. McKenna on Monday, February 24th, are well known, and may be shortly summarized. If this Bill passes there will be henceforth only one type of public elementary school—namely, that provided by the local education authority—and that school is to be one in which there are no tests for teachers, and is subject to the Cowper-Temple clause. The local authorities are prohibited from supporting any other elementary school. In single-school areas—a single-school area being defined as 'a rural district in which, on January 1, 1908, there was only one public elementary school'—the schools with a limited trust, *i.e.* schools in which the trust states that they are to be used in any way for elementary education, are to be handed over to the local authority without any rent or payment, though there are certain compensations to which we will refer later. In all other areas denominational schools may contract themselves out, and may receive grants but not rates. Every parent, whether in town or country, is to have the opportunity of sending his children to a public undenominational elementary school. There are further certain

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financial conditions which will increase the grants to schools, and will involve an Exchequer expenditure of 1,400,000*l*.

Such are, in brief, the provisions of this Bill, and it will be seen that it goes very far towards meeting the most extravagant demands of the extreme Nonconformist. The one particular type of religious instruction which Nonconformists approve of, which some English Churchmen acquiesce in and some disapprove of, and which all Roman Catholics entirely disapprove of, is selected and is to be established and endowed at the public expense. It is to be imposed upon every school, and to be provided for every child that desires it. Those ratepayers who do not acquiesce in it will in country districts be entirely deprived of any teaching that they like, unless they are willing to build a new school and support it entirely, while they will have to pay rates and taxes for the other school. In towns they will be a little better off, as after paying full rates for the school that they disapprove of they will be allowed to receive a grant for their own school.

It is difficult to conceive any measure more strikingly unjust. Let us take certain points in succession. It is admitted that in some country areas Nonconformists have a grievance. They are obliged to send their children to a school, of the religious teaching in which they do not approve. We shall refer to this again. We will only say now that that grievance, although it has been very much exaggerated, is recognized, and that the Church has offered means for correcting it. It is obvious that under the new Bill this Nonconformist grievance is done away with; but in doing so in a very large number of parishes an infinitely greater grievance is created on the other side. Let us take one or two instances to shew this. In the parish of Mickleham, Surrey, a new school has just been built by voluntary subscription, at a cost of 2,390*l*. The parish is one in which there are believed to be no Nonconformists, and in which the parents and the people generally, so far as they have any earnest desire with regard to education at all, desire Church teaching. The freehold of this school will, under this Bill, pass to the Surrey County Council without payment, the

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Church will have no right to the use of the school (or of the teachers) even out of school hours on five evenings of the week, but the new owners will be able to allow the building to be used for purposes hostile to the Church of England. It is difficult to conceive of a more gross case of unnecessary and unjust confiscation. Or let us take another instance. A correspondent writes to us as follows:

'Let me illustrate the way in which the Bill will work in this parish. The great bulk of the people here are Churchmen, and there are a few Nonconformists. It has always been our custom to allow—it is the rule in all schools in this diocese—the children of Nonconformists to have full Biblical instruction, but to be exempt from the Church Catechism. Only one child in the parish makes use of this privilege, all the rest attend the full religious instruction. I visited every house in which there were Nonconformists, and particularly asked them whether they desired to be exempt from the Church Catechism, and they all said that they wished their children to learn it.'

Again, so far as this village is concerned, in order to meet what is in this case an entirely imaginary grievance, the whole of the population of the place will be deprived of the religious instruction which they desire, and the schools which have been built for the purpose of giving that instruction will be confiscated.

We do not propose to dwell at any length upon the compensation in these matters offered to Church people. They are allowed to have the use of the school on Saturdays and Sundays. This means that on a Saturday, the day on which universal tradition gives the children a whole holiday, the clergyman is to have the privilege of holding classes for teaching the Church Catechism in the schools which used to be Church schools. There is something cynically unjust about this. Then, again, the Bill provides that in these transferred schools the religious syllabus of the London County Council is to be taught: that is to say, that as a great privilege Churchmen are to have the statutory right to enjoy in their own schools the teaching which they have spent large sums of money for the last thirty-eight years to avoid.

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Let us now turn to the contracting-out schools. Mr. McKenna in his Bill introduced this part of his subject with the following words:

'Having said so much of the schools under what I may term the national conditions, I think the House will agree that it is impossible to ignore the fact that large sections of our community desire a type of instruction in which more definite denominational teaching is given than in our existing council schools. I recognize clearly that great sacrifices have been made in the past by devoted men and women in founding and maintaining these voluntary schools, and I am aware that, if the State were to refuse to recognize these schools in any form or shape, it would be regarded by very many people as an act of pitiless injustice. The moment voluntary schools are no longer public elementary—the moment they are no longer schools which any child need attend, then, I think, we may begin to consider that the position has changed and that there is room for generous treatment of them.'

Let us hear now what is to be the generous treatment given to these schools. They are to be entirely free from the supervision of the local authority. There may be tests for teachers and a fee of not more than ninepence may be charged, but they are to be under the strictest surveillance of the Board of Education. They are to keep up the highest standard of efficiency. One might think that in these circumstances somewhat generous treatment would be given them, but we find that the grant which they are entitled to receive will be limited in any case to 47*s.* a child. This is considerably less than the sum a provided school may earn. As a matter of fact, in London, judging from the report of the London County Council, they will receive 2*s.* 6*d.* less per child than this, while there is no guarantee that they will receive it at all; nor is there any obligation on the part of the Board of Education to recognize them unless it likes. Now let us see how this will work. The balance-sheet of the St. John's Schools, Camberwell, has been published, from which we gather that a sum of 1,289*l.* in the case of that school will have to be made up by fees and subscriptions, in addition,

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of course, to the cost of keeping up the buildings. A long report, issued by the Education Committee of the London County Council, discusses this question. It points out that while the total amount which will be received cannot be more than 47*s.* a child, the average cost of non-provided schools is 3*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* a child; thus the sum of 29*s.* 8*d.* will have to be made up. The report further points out that this reversion to previous conditions will be much more difficult now than to have continued in the old way. Many of the schools have drawn largely upon their endowments or have raised a mortgage in order to come up to the standard required by the County Council. They have done this on the Parliamentary assurance of successive Education Acts that the property would be available for the purposes for which it was erected. The enlarged buildings will involve increased charges, a more costly organization is required, the teachers are better paid; more than that, we may point out that the fees have been abolished, and consequently to return to a condition of fees will be exceedingly difficult. We should like also to draw attention to one further point. Mr. McKenna's Bill, which is harsh in its main outlines, always contrives to throw in something to exasperate the situation. Under it a teacher serving in a voluntary school will not be able to count his years of service after the first year towards his pension. Here, again, we have a gratuitous insult added to an already harsh measure.

Now we will ask our readers to observe the sort of religious equality which this Bill implies. Supposing that a parent wishes his children to have Church teaching, he will probably not be able to get it unless he is willing to pay fees for the education of his child. The Nonconformist will get exactly the teaching he wants without these fees. Moreover, the other parent will have to pay rates for teaching the Nonconformist child. Supposing the congregation or parish or body of people belonging to any religious denomination, Roman Catholic or otherwise, have conscientious objections to the teaching in Council schools—there are very many who are in that position—they will be compelled to pay through

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the rates for the teaching which they themselves disapprove of, and they will also have to pay subscriptions in order to obtain the teaching which they desire. This is what we are asked to believe represents a condition of equality and justice. We have two more observations to make with regard to contracting-out. We should like, first of all, to quote what a Radical has to say on this subject. Here is what Dr. Clifford says :

'That policy of "contracting out" is unjust in itself, necessitates three types of schools, does not exist in the States of Australia, is a menace to the efficiency of education, and perilous to the unity and welfare of the nation.'

And here is a quotation from another Nonconformist :

'The provision for "contracting out" contents no one, not even those it would placate ; it frustrates the ambition of a national system ; it perpetuates the old mischievous duality ; it enriches and gives a new lease of life to unblushing sectarianism in the populous districts, and its atmosphere remains in single-school districts.'

On the other side, we know that many Church people have expressed their approval of some such system. Mr. Butcher, when the Bill was introduced, spoke in favour of it. The Archbishop of Canterbury introduced an amendment to that effect when Mr. Birrell's Bill was introduced. We should like to ask Mr. Butcher, for example, whether he has ever known what it is to try to carry on a school so as to meet the requirements of the Board of Education out of voluntary subscriptions. For any one who has any interest or care for education to feel that he is continually being hampered by inadequate funds, that he is competing on unequal terms with other schools, is disheartening. From the point of view of education, contracting-out is reactionary and injurious ; from the point of view of religious equality it is unjust ; and to those Church people who would ask for it we would say, why not have the courage of your convictions ? On every principle of justice you have an equal right with your Nonconformist brethren to share in the rates and taxes

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which you pay. So long as you have not the courage to ask for justice you will be trampled upon.

We desire, next, to refer shortly to the financial aspect of the Bill. When it was first introduced the statement that 1,400,000*l.* extra grant would be provided was welcomed as a relief to the local authorities, and it was thought that it would ease the passing of the Bill; but there is not the slightest reason for thinking that the Bill will do anything more than increase the education rates. We have before us the estimate of an English county which has carried on education with very great energy and care. The following is the substance of the report of their finance committee on the provisions of the Bill:

It must be remembered that under the Act of 1902 when a new school is built a portion of the cost is charged on the separate locality to be benefited. This both for future schools and the schools already built will have to be paid by the county as a whole in return for the increased grants which it gets. The result will be, in the case of the particular county we are considering, a loss of about 7,000*l.* to the county authority. It is anticipated that in addition to this actual loss there will be increased financial liabilities, both in the provision of new schools and the repair and enlarging and improving of existing schools. In many single-school areas where the trusts are not limited the school will not be handed over and a new school will have to be built. In contracting-out areas, where the trustees of existing schools decided to contract out, any number of parents, however small, may call upon the authority to provide free elementary education; consequently there will have to be a large number of quite unnecessary schools built. In London the education authority estimate that much the same thing will happen.[1]

We do not propose to examine the Bill further; that has been done much more fully by the excellent little manual issued by the National Society. We venture to think that

[1] There are places like Torquay where all the schools are voluntary. They might all contract out and refuse a transfer. Then two families, one at each end of the town, might each require a school.

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the broad facts we have drawn attention to are quite sufficient to condemn it. But we should like to say a few words generally upon certain reasons which have been put forward for acquiescing in this Bill. Whenever any particularly unjust proposal is put forward we are immediately told that it is the only alternative to secular education. We never can understand why it should be considered that injustice is the only alternative to secular education, but we venture to think that the statement is entirely false. We believe as a matter of fact that the complete establishment of the Cowper-Temple conditions everywhere would be the first step towards secular education. The religious teaching in schools would cease to have any kind of genuine religious support. The whole body of Roman Catholics and all the more earnest English Church people would be devoted either to providing schools of their own or to making up for the deficiencies of the school system, and they would care little what was the teaching in the Council schools. Moreover, there would be at once aroused the feeling of antagonism and opposition which always arises against an established religion. Universal undenominationalism would be the first step to secularism. Any system at the present time which is based upon the fresh endowment of a particular religion is entirely antagonistic to all the thought of the time. Moreover, we very seriously doubt, knowing as we do the opinions of many young teachers, whether the Cowper-Temple teaching, given compulsorily according to a definite State system, without a connexion with any religious body, without real religious feeling or life behind, by teachers not necessarily trained for the work, with no guarantee for their competence in relation to it, will be found of any great value to the country.

There is a second class of persons who at once support any Bill on lines antagonistic to the Church, because they think that it would close the education controversy. We venture to suggest to them that nothing which is unjust will ever close a controversy. Supposing this Bill were to pass, the whole of the energies of the Church people would be devoted to two things—to altering the Act, and

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in particular to getting better terms for their school. We can assure members of Parliament of the Gallio type that they would continue to be pestered at elections just as before. And there would certainly be strong and continuous efforts to obtain at least facilities in school hours in all schools.

On the other hand, we hope that no one will imagine that this Bill will satisfy the bodies of persons known as Free Churchmen. Nothing will satisfy them except one national system, as they call it, and a complete popular control with *ad hoc* authorities, with no Church teaching allowed in any circumstances. We have before us an edition of the Education Bill with representative opinions from Free Churchmen. Here are some extracts. Dr. Clifford declares: 'In so far as the New Education Bill *approaches the goal* of an exclusively civic solution of the problem of Education, it is satisfactory.' Sir George White says: 'The Nonconformist M.P.'s reluctantly accept the conditions which allow of another type of school to which the secular grant will be given if they are kept fully efficient. The conditions on which this grant is to be given may need strengthening.' Another writes: '*It does not give us that uniform national system which is the educationalist's ideal.*' And yet another urges: 'It is not too late for the Government to fearlessly attempt a *really national solution.*' And so on. The only result of the Bill would be to upset the system under which we are working, to create a greater injustice instead of a less, to increase the atmosphere of bitterness which surrounds the education controversy.

A new situation has been created quite recently by a Bill introduced in the House of Lords by the Bishop of St. Asaph. There is no doubt that objections have been felt on all sides to Mr. McKenna's Bill. It is stated that the secular party will not vote for it, that the Irish party will not vote for it, and there is obviously no feeling for it in the country. Except in narrow Nonconformist circles it has not been received with any enthusiasm. In these circumstances we believe that the Bishop of St. Asaph's Bill has been introduced not exactly by collusion with the

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Government, but by agreement with some of the members of the Government, and that it has some strong support. It therefore demands our careful consideration.

The following are the main provisions of the Bill, as stated in a memorandum attached to it:

'This Bill provides that no school shall be maintained out of public funds as a public elementary school unless it is conducted and controlled by the local education authority as a provided (or council) school.

'The Bill abolishes religious tests for teachers in every school so maintained, and provides that, except in accordance with his wishes, no teacher shall be required to give any religious instruction, but it leaves all teachers free to offer to give either simple Christian ("Cowper-Temple") teaching, or teaching distinctive of a particular denomination.

'It further provides that in every public elementary school there shall be given during school hours—

'(*a*) Undenominational religious teaching at the cost and under the control of the local education authority;

'(*b*) Facilities for denominational religious teaching on three days a week to those children whose parents desire such teaching for them; but no part of the cost is to be paid by the local education authority.

'The conscience clause remains in force.

'The Bill gives power to the trustees of all non-provided schools held under charitable trusts to arrange by agreement for the transfer of the schoolhouse to the local education authority.

'The Bill would thus provide for the establishment of one type of public elementary school, under full public control. While enforcing the principle that religious instruction should be given in every school in accordance with the wishes of the parents, it would secure for both teachers and children absolute religious freedom.'

Now this Bill has two characteristics which will commend it to two different types of persons. In the first place it will please one set by securing one type of school and complete control, and in the second place it is a very great gain if it is recognized that Churchmen and others who desire distinctive religious education have rights in all schools. It is no doubt a great improvement on Mr.

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McKenna's Bill, and we believe that through the greater part of Wales it would probably provide a solution which would be satisfactory. But we venture to think that it has grave defects. In the first place, it would clearly not satisfy the Roman Catholics, nor is there any reason why they should be satisfied with it. We are quite certain that the majority of English Nonconformists would not like to have to send their children to Roman Catholic schools, even if they had the right to give them instruction on three days a week. We do not know therefore why they should expect Roman Catholics to be willing to send their children to a school which must inevitably have what they would consider a Protestant tone. Then secondly, although we believe that it would be desirable that in country districts a far larger number of the schools should be under complete public control, we do not think that any system which is uniform is desirable from an educational point of view. And thirdly, we do not believe that the compulsory establishment and endowment of any one system of religious instruction is either fair or beneficial to religion. Nor from the other point of view do we believe that a sudden change in the system of all council schools, however excellent in itself, would be desirable. While recognizing that the Bishop of St. Asaph's Bill contains one principle which is very much better than anything we have had suggested before, we cannot believe that it represents a wise settlement.

There is a rumour or suggestion that a 'compromise,' as it is called, is to be arranged by combining the two Bills. We hope that nothing of the kind will be attempted. A good Bill cannot be made by combining two bad ones, both based upon a wrong principle, and until a Bill is introduced on a right principle the controversy will go on. We would say something as to the best way of meeting the difficulties of the situation, and we would ask our readers whether they think that any measure which completely overturns the existing educational system is desirable. It is only about five years since we had our educational system completely remodelled, and it is admitted on all hands that that remodelling, whatever imperfections

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it may have, has very much increased the educational efficiency of the country. Would another complete *bouleversement* do anything at the present time except disturb the progress of education? Is it not rest that we want? On the other hand, it is admitted that there are injustices in the present situation. Is it not the wiser plan to see how far each separate injustice can be remedied? The injustices are not one-sided. Church people as well as Nonconformists suffer from them. What we would suggest is that no heroic measures should be undertaken, that alterations based on sound principles should be introduced where possible, and that we should gradually modify our education system on wise lines. We are, for example, in favour personally of facilities in all schools, or rather more than that; we are in favour of, and we should like to see introduced, a system by which children in all schools could be taught in accordance with their parents' wishes; but the sudden change of the system which has prevailed in the council schools for thirty years would in our opinion be most unwise. So there may be a great deal to be said for many non-provided schools being taken over by the local authority on conditions. But we think it would be very unwise if any Bill should be introduced forcing this on.

Now as to the general principle which ought to prevail: on that we have been perfectly clear in all that we have written in the CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW for the last five years. So far as possible, religious instruction should be given to the children in accordance with the wishes of the parents. We have discussed the principle in full in previous numbers, and we do not propose to repeat that discussion. There can be no doubt that the principle is gradually making way. It is more and more being taken up by Church people, and we believe its justice is being recognized by many outside the ranks of professed Church people. We wish then to see that principle prevail, but we do not wish it to be acted upon too rapidly, or until it is more universally recognized, and we should like a certain amount of legislation to be experimental. We do not want any serious leaps in the dark.

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Now let us consider the particular grievances which ought to be remedied. The first is clear. In many single-school districts, Nonconformists are compelled to send their children to the Church schools, and cannot get the religious instruction of which they approve. That grievance undoubtedly exists; to what extent it is a real grievance we do not know nor are we much concerned. On the other hand, it must be remembered that there are many districts in which either Anglicans or Roman Catholics have to submit to the same disadvantage. Now it is quite untrue to say that the Church has not recognized this difficulty. As a matter of fact, it hardly exists in many dioceses: we cannot say in all. In many Church schools the children are allowed to attend Biblical instruction, but are exempted from the Church Catechism; and that at any rate reduces the extent of the grievance very considerably. Moreover, it must be remembered that in the original resolutions adopted by the Church of England which inaugurated the Education Act of 1902, it was specially laid down that facilities were to be granted in all schools for those children whose parents objected to the religious instruction. That was proposed by the Church of England, it was accepted by such leading men as Mr. Balfour and Sir William Anson, but the Conservative party for some reason or other took the bit between its teeth, and refused to confer this act of justice. It is not therefore the fault of the Church that matters are not better than they are. The real difficulty to Nonconformists, apparently, was that it would have been impossible for them, as they thought, to obtain teachers. We would suggest that a very simple provision would remedy this grievance. It should be enacted that in all single-school areas the local education authority should be required to provide religious instruction for ten or more children whose parents were dissatisfied with the instruction they were receiving in the school, and were unable to obtain the instruction that they desired within a reasonable distance. That would enable everyone to be fairly treated, and there would seldom be any difficulty. One of the teachers in the school will be able to give the instruction; and it will prob-

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ably in most cases not entail any extra cost; but even if it does it will be well worth paying something extra to do away with what is a real grievance. If this system were found to work smoothly it could eventually be extended to other schools.

Let us take as the next point the demand for one uniform national system of education. Reading through the opinions of the Free Churchmen, to which we referred before, we find that this represents a recurring note in all their statements. For example, we read of Mr. McKenna's Bill: 'It does not give us that uniform national system which is the educationalist's ideal, but it comes as near to it as we can hope to get just now.' So again: 'It is not too late for the Government to fearlessly attempt a really national solution.' It is quite clear that 'a really national system,' or something of that sort, is one of those catch-words which have got hold of a certain section of the public, and has become a sort of shibboleth. We know, too, that this has been very largely the tendency of a great many education authorities. County councils and city councils have all the energy of the new broom in education, and they want to manage everything themselves. Anyone acquainted with the motives and the principles of the old School Board in London, for example, will know that it was administrative unity which actuated them just as much as opposition to voluntary schools. After all, is this one uniform and national system desirable? We doubt very much if it represents the ideal of the real educationalist. For example, Professor Sadler has again and again protested against it; nor, if we look at the history of education in the last hundred years, is there any reason for being particularly attracted by it. Much of the advance which has been made in education has arisen from private initiative, often working against school boards or the Board of Education. Ten years ago the administration of the Board of Education itself was looked upon as the greatest bar to educational advance. At the present time a great deal that is new and original is being suggested by the voluntary schools, primary or secondary. What has happened is that a

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number of different individuals, working independently, have made great progress in education, and the results which they have attained have been taken up by new authorities, fresh to their work, and with the increased sums from taxes and rates that are available. The whole system of education in the country has been improved, largely, of course, because more sums are available for carrying out what voluntary work had begun. But if once we get all schools entirely under the same authorities with one stereotyped system of national education, are we sure that there will be the same motive for advance, the same incentive to originality, the same opportunity for fresh effort, without which progress is impossible? There are many advantages in a national system of education, but not if that system reduces all schools to one type. All this applies both to elementary and secondary education. Then, again, granted that for many reasons a national system is desirable, it must be one which meets the legitimate demands of all sections of the community. What strikes us in reading through the utterances of representative Free Churchmen already quoted is their extraordinary incapacity for realizing that there is any point of view but their own. Every one who does not agree with them is labelled as a sectarian. They seem quite to forget that approximately half the people of the country, and probably more, prefer denominational education. The utterances are those of a body of persons who are always saying the same things to audiences which agree with them, and entirely forget that there is a vast body of public opinion outside their societies which absolutely disagrees with everything they say. The relative size of the different bodies is a matter of indifference; a national system must satisfy not only the majority, if it is a majority, but all large minorities, and be as fair as possible to small ones. It is rather curious in the light of recent events to read the somewhat bombastic utterances which we come across:

'The temper of the nation is rising.'

This is meant to imply that the nation will have nothing to

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do any more with Church teaching, and are longing for Mr. McKenna's Bill. But this does not seem to be the case. The fact is that until the bulk of Nonconformists recognize that other people have consciences as well as themselves, and other people have rights as well as themselves, no settlement of the education question is possible.

Having said this much, we would say at once and frankly that we think it would be desirable that the great body of the village schools should be really the village school, and should represent the whole body of the people; that is to say, that they should be provided and not non-provided schools; but, if they are to be that, they must really represent the village and not the opinions of the London County Council. If the village wants Church teaching, it must have it in its own school.

We would suggest that the way in which a really national system of education could be built up would be one which would give much greater freedom to the local authority in dealing with the owners of non-provided schools. That freedom will be gained if the Cowper-Temple clause were repealed, and in its place the following conditions were introduced. The local authority should be free if they thought fit in any school under their control to give religious instruction, in accordance with the wishes of the parents, or to grant facilities for such instruction. Now the result of such provision would be this. It would not compel the County Council to make any violent change. It would not suddenly introduce a new system; that would probably be distasteful to the teachers and cause immense opposition in many of the Council's schools. But it would enable local authorities to take over schools on any condition which they chose. In the future the local authority and the owners of the non-provided schools would be in quite a free position to make a bargain. Nothing would compel the County Council to take over the schools, nothing would compel the owners to transfer them, but they would be able to make reasonable and fair conditions on both sides. At present the reason which prevents many provided schools, particularly in Wales, from being given over is that the

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local authorities cannot make a bargain by which they would give religious instruction in accordance with the wishes of the parents or the trust deeds of the school.

A third grievance, of which we hear rather less at the present time, is that it is intolerable to make people pay for religious instruction of which they do not approve. Here again we have this principle applied in an eminently one-sided way. There can be no shadow of doubt that the Roman Catholics do not approve of the teaching in the council schools; but our Nonconformist friends have not any scruple in compelling them to pay for it. The same is true of Unitarians and secularists, and many others. Moreover, and we say it quite definitely, it is true of a very large proportion of Church people. Because Church people have acquiesced in a system which was not altogether just, for the sake of religious peace, they have been accused of not having principles. That is an unjust accusation. The point of view of the Churchman is that he is quite prepared to allow any religious teaching not inconsistent with the national well-being to be paid for out of the rates, provided the system that he approves of is also paid for. He believes that the most just system is that in which religious instruction according to any system desired by any body of parents of reasonable number is paid for. The real injustice lies in a system in which one particular sort of religion is paid for. The grievance, as formulated by Nonconformists, is one which cannot be acquiesced in, and we must frankly say, 'You must be prepared within reasonable limits and conditions to allow all religious instruction to be paid for, or you must recognize with many consistent and, we believe, fair-minded secularists, that it is better that no religious instruction at all should be paid for by the State.' This last alternative is quite consistent with the religious instruction being given in school hours and by the ordinary teachers. Either of these conditions are fair and just, and by either of them we will stand.

The fourth grievance is that of tests for teachers. Here again we are dealing with a difficulty which is partly a catch-word, but not altogether. There is probably no injustice to

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teachers at all in a place like London, where three-quarters of the schools are provided and the remaining quarter non-provided. All that it means is that Churchmen go to Church schools and Roman Catholics to Roman Catholic schools, and all the council schools are open for those who do not care for the others. But there is some injustice in the country, because in a very large number of villages there is a small population of Nonconformists, and the number of Church schools is probably in excess of the purely Church population. We venture to think that if the suggestions we have made under the second heading were accepted, then this grievance would gradually disappear, but we should ourselves be prepared to acquiesce in the following system with regard to religious teaching. There is, it must be remembered, a grievance on the other side. At present there is no guarantee of any fitness of training or otherwise for those teachers who are to give religious instruction. Anyone who is acquainted with the younger generation of school teachers knows that for various reasons, which we need not go into, they are many of them unsettled in their faith, and they are very sensitive—in many cases rightly sensitive—in all these cases of conscience. We believe, therefore, that ultimately, if not at the present time, very much the best system would be:—That no test should be imposed upon any teacher in any elementary school before his appointment: that no teacher should be compelled to give the religious instruction, and that the religious instruction should be separately paid for and arranged: and that the education authority or the school managers should be at liberty to satisfy themselves that in training and in other ways any one of the teachers already appointed is fitted to give the religious instruction. We do not believe that in this case any test would be desirable. We think that the two conditions which should be asked for are the willingness of the teacher to give the instruction, and the evidence that he has obtained some training. There will be no difficulty with regard to this in the future, for the Universities are beginning to give diplomas for religious knowledge just fitted for the elementary school

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teacher. We believe that if this system were to be introduced it would work very well. The teachers would naturally go to the places where they were in harmony with the religious teaching, and would gladly and willingly, as they have done in the past, undertake the teaching, and no one would have any conscientious objections or grievances.

It will be noticed that the tentative suggestions that we have put forward are based upon two principles which we wish to see gradually asserted. The first is that religious instruction should be given in accordance with the wishes of the parents; the next is that so far as possible liberty in these matters should be allowed. Have we ever realized how little religious liberty our Acts of Parliament give? In old days the absence of liberty was shewn by insistence on rigorous tests, of clerical managers, and on one type of religious teaching. The reaction from that has meant forbidding particular types of religious teaching and forbidding enquiry into the religious training of teachers. A great deal is talked about the will of the ratepayer; the will of the ratepayer is hampered in every direction. Now the will of the ratepayer ought to be hampered in one way; he ought to be prevented from injuring the conscience of his brother. There should be a full 'conscience clause' and the rights of the minority should be fully recognized; but the recognition of the rights of the minority ought not to interfere with the rights of the majority. At present in many places it is the minority which is to be allowed to control the majority, and this is just as detrimental to religious liberty as any other form of intolerance.

We have made certain suggestions. There are two or three things which we wish to say in conclusion. The first refers to the political action of the Church. In some cynical remarks in the *Review of Reviews* we find the following passage:

'The only denominationalists who are worth anything as a fighting force from that point of view are the Roman Catholics, and in view of the fact that nearly all the Catholics are Irish, and that we tax the Irish every year several millions in excess of what we are justly entitled to take from them, it has always

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seemed to me reasonable and just that the entire cost of the Catholic schools should be placed on the taxes. It would be a kind of restitution of our ill-gotten gains. It would also have the immense advantage of neutralising the hostility of a section of the denominationalist army which is prepared to face imprisonment in defence of its conscientious scruples.'

Now there is a great deal of truth in these remarks. The somewhat indecisive attitude of the Church has arisen partly from a desire for peace, partly from absence of principle in some of its members, partly from absence of statesmanship. In this connexion we should like very respectfully to criticize some words of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He has, as we know from a letter to Mr. McKenna published in *The Times*, definitely stated that he cannot support the Education Bill. It is a very moderate letter, but it quite clearly condemns the Bill. There is, however, one passage to which we wish to draw attention :

'I need not, I think, remind you that I have myself from the first been anxious—many good people think over-anxious—to promote a reasonable settlement of this lamentable and harmful controversy. In order to bring about such a settlement, many of us are prepared to give up much which we believe might be fairly and reasonably claimed by those whose cause I, in some measure, represent. Some of us are even ready, for the sake of bringing about the harmonious co-operation for which we long, to acquiesce, both as regards primary and secondary schools, in arrangements which fail, as we think, to do what is ideally the best for English life as a whole.'

Now we entirely sympathize with his Grace's desire for peace, we feel that the tone of everything which he writes is, in the best sense of the word, Christian ; but we are not quite certain whether his intense desire for peace does not have the reverse effect to what he intends. We believe that peace would be more readily secured if the Church were a little more determined to demand perfectly equal and just treatment, and then were ready to give even more than justice to the other side. We should be ready to do everything we could to make the position of the Nonconformist minority in the country parishes comfortable, but we do not

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think that it ought to be done by giving up the rights of the majority. There are many villages in the country where the whole population, or at least the great majority, approve of the religious instruction they now receive. If they prefer it, why should they lose it? Why should we not make it perfectly clear that we wish for the same treatment for ourselves that we are ready to give to others? If there were a little more firmness as well as the consideration for his opponents in the Archbishop's letter, we believe the settlement would be nearer than it is. We would venture to say just the same thing about his attitude on the Bishop of St. Asaph's Bill. He is too willing to make concessions: he does not lead his own side with him, and thus ultimately irritates not only them but the opponents whom he desires to conciliate. Because the Archbishop as representing the Church is too ready at first to acquiesce for the sake of peace, and then finds it necessary to draw back, his final attitude causes more irritation than if he had begun by being firm. Moreover, have we any right for the sake of peace to give up 'what is ideally the best for English life as a whole'? Are we not being untrue to our duty?

One last word. We should like heartily to endorse a letter of Sir Charles Elliott, which appeared in *The Times* of March 10th. He writes:

'In conclusion, may I put in a word of protest against the epithet used several times in the debate, and even by one I so much respect as Mr. Masterman—"this squalid controversy"? No adjective could be more inappropriate and unjust. The conscientious desire to fulfil the terms of a trust and to impart what men believe to be the blessings of true religion is one of the noblest impulses of our nature. This controversy is no more "squalid" than that which drove the Puritans of the Mayflower into exile in order to obtain freedom to worship God.'

The same idea expressed by Mr. Masterman was emphasized by a very unfair cartoon in *Punch*, which we venture to think represented the superficial and not the real views of the country. It represented the Archbishop of Canterbury, Archbishop Bourne and Dr. Clifford fighting with one

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another, while the nation, in the person of Mr. McKenna, has to come in to protect the child. Again and again we hear it stated that we are to save the children from ecclesiastical dispute. As a matter of fact throughout the whole of this controversy so far as we know the children have suffered very little, as it has not invaded the schools. But in any case our controversy is quite clearly for the well-being of the child. To every thoughtful person, whatever his opinions may be, nothing can be more vitally important to the country than that the children may be brought up on sound religious and moral principles. Nothing can be more important than that the principles of religious liberty, equality and toleration should prevail. Those are the principles for which we contend. There may be deplorable aspects of this controversy, there always are in all controversies in which fallible human beings are involved; but the points at issue are great, and of vital importance—far more important, we believe, than many other political questions; and we should strongly impress all those who believe in the value of education, of religious liberty and of truth, to exhaust every effort until they have obtained, so far as is possible under existing conditions, a fair and just treatment of the education question.

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ART. II.—JOHN WESLEY AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF REVIVALS.

1. *Wesley and His Century.* A Study in Spiritual Forces. By W. H. FITCHETT. (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1906.)
2. *The Life of John Wesley.* By G. T. WINCHESTER. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1906.)
3. *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals.* By F. M. DAVENPORT. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1905.)
4. *The Psychology of Religion.* By E. D. STARBUCK. 2nd edition. (London: W. Scott, 1901.)
5. *The Varieties of Religious Experience.* By W. JAMES. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902.)

IN the religious life of nations as in that of individuals, the wind bloweth where it listeth, and we cannot tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth. The history of the Church's progress is a record of unexpected advances, and of the display of unsuspected reserves of life and strength. After a period of enervated listlessness comes the revival, unforeseen and unpredicted, baffling the calculations and belying the forecasts of the most sagacious and the most far-sighted observers. The ultimate cause of the movement lies deep in the mysterious activity of the Spirit of God whose workings are past our searching out. When the Giver of Life moves, the face of the earth is renewed under His operation. The revival is the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in our eyes. If this be undisputed, no possible disparagement of the marvel can be involved in the attempt to investigate the secondary causes, whereby the Divine intention has been carried into execution. The more profoundly the student is convinced that here God is at work, the more closely will he seek to interpret the inner meaning of the movement, to discover its natural origin, to recognize its critical moments and turning-points, to understand its drift and tendency. We need not, therefore, wonder at the undiminished attention which continues to be bestowed on the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century.

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While the movement initiated by John Wesley numbers within its ranks so many millions of adherents, and is the vehicle of so much religious activity, it is only natural that the problem of its origin, together with the life and character of its founder, should be the subject of unremitting study. It is significant that of the two lives of Wesley which have recently appeared, the one should come from the pen of the Australian writer, the Rev. W. H. Fitchett, the other from that of Prof. Winchester of the Wesleyan University in the United States. East and West contribute their share to the discussion of these questions of world-wide interest.

It is not our purpose to attempt any general appreciation of the movement, or to touch on any of the vexed questions of controversy connected with it. Our object will be rather to take note now of certain characteristics which render the eighteenth century revival a field of investigation exceptionally attractive and stimulating to students of the comparatively new science of the Psychology of Religion. Here, if anywhere, we have to do with a movement positively and distinctively religious, deriving its impetus from the prompt and eager response of multitudes to appeals addressed exclusively to their religious instincts. It is a feature favourably distinguishing this movement from others of earlier times. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though the religious motives may have been in the ascendant, yet there were simultaneously other factors at work which seriously complicate the problem of analysis. When the streams of politics and religion mingled together, so that religious convictions shaped themselves under the influence of such alien forces as the desire for national independence or the struggle for civil liberty, cross currents were produced, the direction and relative force of which it is perhaps impossible to determine with accuracy. But the strong tide of religious feeling which flowed over England in the eighteenth century was free from any such turbid admixture. The movement was religious through and through. It was independent of the disputes of any political parties, and unconnected with any of the class antagonisms which

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were already beginning to be disturbing elements in the life of England. In all departments of knowledge a necessary condition of successful investigation is the exclusion from consideration of extraneous and immaterial circumstances, in order that the attention may be directed solely upon facts of significance. The student of religious psychology may congratulate himself that in the eighteenth century revival he finds this task of elimination done for him. With some very slight reservations it is fair to say that the movement was not even partly political or partly social. It was purely religious.

The explanation of the course followed by revival movements is to be sought not only in the laws which govern the psychical development of the individual, but also in those other and in some respects widely different laws that determine the 'psychology of the crowd.' The action of both may be studied at large in the history of the Wesleyan movement. In Wesley's Journal alone no less than sixty cases of individual conversion are separately described, and the records of his encounters with excited crowds are full of interest. It would be difficult to discover more instructive examples of the startling and apparently inexplicable reversals of the current of feeling in a multitude than are to be found in the plain, straightforward descriptions given by Wesley himself of his experiences among the mobs of the Midlands and of Cornwall. That the movement rightly deserves to be called a Revival will be an obvious truth to those who are not debarred by a total lack of sympathy from any true appreciation of its character. The agnostic historian of the period, Sir Leslie Stephen, consistently with his own principles, prefers the somewhat invidious term, reaction. Yet such a designation seems curiously out of keeping with the facts. Movement cannot properly be represented as a reaction from a state of rest, nor restored animation as the natural outcome of a condition of torpor. And it stands out as a fact beyond all question that under the influence of Wesley multitudes of Englishmen attained what may fairly be termed a new life. They gained an entrance into new fields of experience. Their horizon

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expanded, until they became conscious of powers, the very existence of which they had never hitherto suspected. It was, taken at the lowest estimate, a forward movement, and must be so acknowledged even by those who are least in sympathy with the religious principles of its leaders.

Among the conditions which determine the occurrence of a revival the most important beyond all comparison is the personality of the revivalist. However fully he be acknowledged to be the instrument of a higher power, and to be doing only what it has been given him to do, yet his idiosyncracies cannot be disregarded as though they had little or no bearing on the work accomplished through him. A revivalist like John Wesley is in some sort a prophet of modern times, and the problem of his influence deserves to be studied along the same lines as the inspiration of the great prophets of old. That due account must be taken of the human factor in inspiration is now universally admitted. Moreover, this human factor must not be represented as merely so much weakness over against heavenly power—as water mingled with the wine, not destroying but diluting it, reducing its strength and detracting from its efficacy. The humanity of the inspired man has a nobler part to play, a part which can only be understood in the light of the great Christian truth, that God's chosen instrument in the education and restoration of the world is Personality. Of this principle the supreme manifestation is the Incarnation, but its operation is to be recognized not only in the Life of our Lord, but throughout history. As the character of Christ, revealed under the conditions of earth, provides us with the interpretation of the universal movement of which He was the author, so in the characters of His most heroic servants we look for the interpretation of those partial movements to which under His inspiration and guidance they have given the impetus.

John Wesley stands forth as one conspicuously gifted with the aptitude for wakening into life the religious activities of the listless and the indifferent, the ignorant and the hardened. Yet the more his life is studied, the more

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evident it becomes that he offers, alike in the qualities which he possessed and in those which he lacked, a striking contrast with the current popular conception of the revivalist. Had he, for example, the gift of eloquence? Undoubtedly the impression which he produced upon his hearers was great beyond description. But if by eloquence be meant the art of influencing others by means of the skilfully chosen word and tone setting forth the powerfully constructed argument, then it is impossible to credit Wesley with this endowment. He had none of that natural facility of speech, that untutored but masterly skill in the application of all the resources of the speaking voice, which enabled Whitefield to cast a spell over rich and poor, learned and unlearned. The written sermons of Wesley are unpretentious compositions. The reader feels that it would be impossible to deliver such plain straightforward appeals addressed to the reason and conscience in any but a plain straightforward way. And with this inference tallies the report of those who heard him. It was a simple message which Wesley had to deliver, and he was not concerned to embellish it with any adornments of oratory. According to his own statement he did not after all his experience find himself able to improve upon the preaching of his early ministry. So it appears from an interesting piece of self-criticism in his diary.

'Sept. 1, 1778.—I was musing on what I heard a good man say long since, "Once in seven years I burn all my sermons, for it is a shame if I cannot write better sermons now than I could seven years ago." Whatever others can do, I certainly cannot. I cannot write a better sermon on the Good Steward than I did seven years ago: I cannot write a better on the Great Assize than I did twenty years ago: I cannot write a better on the Use of Money than I did nearly thirty years ago: nay, I know not that I can write a better on the Circumcision of the Heart than I did five and forty years ago.'

Perhaps Wesley was not allowing sufficiently for the maturing influence of age; and yet it is true that his sermons are such as would be equally appropriate in the mouth of the young preacher of thirty and in that of the veteran of seventy-five.

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His quickness in argument Wesley attributed to the experience acquired by him in the exercise of his office as Moderator of the Classes at Lincoln College during his Oxford days. It was there that he gained logical dexterity, and became an adept in the art of detecting and exposing fallacies. In the controversies of later days his skill in argument stood him often in good stead. But he was never a very subtle or deep reasoner. He had no exceptional grasp of the problems of the philosophy of religion, and makes no remarkable contribution to their solution. Master as he was of the practical art of reaching the springs of conduct in the souls with which he had to deal, he displays no special ability in the theoretical analysis of human nature, nor anything beyond an ordinary apprehension of the intellectual difficulties of religious faith. His contemporaries, Butler and William Law, were immensely his superiors in the region of abstract thought.

Granting that he was not distinguished by any brilliant endowments as speaker or thinker, we may ask whether his success was due to the possession of remarkable administrative powers and practical abilities. It is the conclusion at which Sir Leslie Stephen arrives. 'His strength,' he writes, 'lies almost entirely in the sphere of practice. . . . No such leader of men appeared in that century, and in a lower sphere he might have been a first-rate statesman or a general.' [1] When we reflect on the vast size of the machinery which Wesley constructed, and on the smoothness of its working in his hands, it seems natural to credit him with the quality of practical genius. And undoubtedly he did possess certain practical gifts in very large measure—a methodical habit, an untiring perseverance, a quick decision, an undaunted courage, a presence of mind which no accident by flood or field could even remotely affect. But endowments like these, though carried to a high pitch of excellence, do not constitute genius. Men may possess them all and will yet fail to produce great results, unless they are also gifted with the insight which can penetrate to the heart

[1] *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. 410.

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of a situation, and with the inventiveness which can discover novel roads to success. Now, however strange it may seem, in view of the actual results which Wesley achieved, it is nevertheless a fair inference from the positive evidence of his contemporaries that he was singularly lacking in this quality of constructive imagination. It has often been pointed out that the peculiar features of the Methodist organization were not his own invention, but were adopted by him from the suggestions of others. Alexander Knox, an enthusiastic admirer, writing from the fulness of personal knowledge, delivers a very outspoken verdict: 'The piety of John Wesley was more than sincere; it was ardent, pure and sublime. But perhaps in no instance has so much sterling goodness been accompanied with so much intellectual and circumstantial error. . . . Where comprehensive judgment and long-sighted sagacity were to be exercised, John Wesley was a child.'[1] It is an opinion in striking contrast with Sir Leslie Stephen's. Knox would surely not have considered Wesley naturally capable of being even a second-rate general or statesman.

The great revival, we make no doubt, was the work of the great revivalist; but John Wesley's greatness was not constituted by conspicuous endowments in the region of thought or practice. The source of his power lay deeper. It revealed itself not so much through words written or spoken, nor yet through the organizations which derived their being and their energy from him, but through the mysterious psychical influence which emanated from him. He possessed in an almost unrivalled degree that faculty which is the one common and distinctive property of all great men of action, the faculty of controlling the wills of those with whom he came into contact. What this power may be, and whence it is derived, we cannot tell. But there is no mistaking its presence. It is the patent of the true nobility of leadership. We may call it, if we please, the force of will, or the power of personality, but such terms are after all very inadequate expressions for that

[1] Knox, *Remains*, iii. 467.

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which baffles definition and explanation. Mysterious as it is, the figures of the men who have filled big *rôles* on the stage of history are instinct with this force. While they exhibit every conceivable variety of talent and disposition, they are all alike in this, that they can command as by a spell the obedience of their fellows. They may not be, in many cases they certainly have not been, more courageous, or more persevering, or more clever than others around them; but they are more forceful. The reins of authority drop into their hands as through some inscrutable, but inevitable, necessity. To them, therefore, is committed the tremendous responsibility of using for good or evil the greatest endowment of which human nature is capable. That too many of them have failed to respond to the demand made upon them is matter of regret rather than of surprise. If great possessions, whether of wealth or intellect, have been the ruin of many lives, it is no wonder that the strain imposed by the possession of this incomparably higher gift should have proved too much for human self-control. The tyrants known to history are those who possessing this faculty in high measure have prostituted it to further their own selfish ends and unworthy ambitions; the world's benefactors have dedicated it to the service of their fellows. That John Wesley was thus gifted, and resolute to use his gift for the highest ends, is proved by the direct witness of his friends and by the circumstantial evidence of his life. John Whitelamb, his pupil at Oxford, and afterwards his brother-in-law, gives expression to his own feeling in language that may be touched with exaggeration, but which is evidently sincere in intention. 'Your presence' he writes to Wesley, 'creates an awe, as if you were the inhabitant of another world. I cannot think as you do, but I retain the highest veneration and affection for you. The sight of you moves me strangely.'[1] This combination of awe and affection is characteristically the feeling which Wesley inspired in his followers. They could not but be intensely conscious of the psychical domination which he exercised

[1] Tyerman, i. 369.

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over them; but being confident that he would always use this power to further their highest spiritual interests they regarded him with as much love as fear. Faced by a hostile crowd, with all its passions let loose, Wesley was capable of subjugating it by means of a fascination not unlike that which is exercised by the tamer of wild beasts. A single instance will suffice to illustrate an experience which repeated itself frequently.

'They (*i.e.* the mob) quickly forced open the outer door and filled the passage. . . . Among those without were the crews of some privateers which were lately come into the harbour. Some of them being angry at the slackness of the rest thrust them away and coming up all together set their shoulders to the inner door and cried out, "Avast lads, avast." Away went all the hinges at once, and the door fell into the room. I stepped forward at once into the midst of them and said: Here am I. Which of you has anything to say to me? To which of you have I done any wrong? To you? Or you? Or you? I continued speaking till I came bareheaded as I was (for I purposely left my hat that all might see my face) into the midst of the street, and then raising my voice said: Neighbours, countrymen, do you desire to hear me speak? They cried vehemently: Yes, Yes. He shall speak. He shall. Nobody shall hinder him. But having nothing to stand on and no advantage of ground I could be heard by few only. However, I spoke without intermission and as far as the sound reached the people were still; till one or two of their captains turned about and swore, Not a man shall touch him.' [1]

The secret of Wesley's power was in essence like that of other leaders of men; the object which he set before himself was none other than that which all sincere revivalists have pursued; his width of range and fund of inexhaustible energy were peculiar to himself. The very largeness of the scale on which he worked, and the exceptional vigour of the mind-force which he exercised render the story of his life specially valuable as a means to the disclosure of the inner activities of a revival. And the evidence of his life points to the conclusion that the effectiveness of the revivalist

[1] *Journal*, July 4, 1845.

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is not proportioned to his external or intellectual endowments, but is determined by his real though mysterious psychical capacity for influencing and controlling the minds of others, and by his own set purpose to use that capacity for the initiation and direction of a wave of religious feeling. The inference suggested by the history of John Wesley is confirmed by the biographies of other famous revivalists.

Of all the features of a revival the most distinctive is the occurrence of 'conversion,' that crisis in the spiritual life which results in an entire change of sentiment and of practice. Already the literature of the psychology of conversion begins to grow apace. Whatever be the religious standpoint of the psychologist, even though he repudiate all religious belief, he must at the least recognize here a startling fact of mental history of which his theories must take account. In carrying out his task he is, however, confronted with the difficulty that conversion is no simple and uniform process. It assumes many shapes and presents an indefinite number of variations. The first requisite in the formation of a theory will be the accumulation of facts. Now in Wesley's *Journal* appear again and again detailed descriptions of sudden conversions. It would be an instructive exercise to take these accounts and to see how far the theory of conversion, expounded for example by Professor James in his *Varieties of Religious Experience*, will tally with and account for the evidence. Wesley himself was much more concerned with the fact than the theory. Perhaps it was due to his natural disinclination for systematic thought that he never seems to have worked out for himself any thoroughly consistent conception, but changed his views from time to time. Thus at different periods of his life he held very different opinions as to the value of the physical phenomena, the convulsions, trances, and outcries, which occasionally accompanied his preaching. These abnormal symptoms shewed themselves with especial frequency at Bristol during the opening years of his public ministry, and again a little later at Chowden, near Newcastle. Wesley was at first inclined, after some hesitation, to accept these tumultuous outbursts as plain proofs of

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the direct action of the Holy Spirit. So a passage from his *Journal* testifies:

'Although they saw signs and wonders (for so I must term them), yet many would not believe. They could not deny the facts; but they could explain them away. Some said, "These were purely natural effects: the people fainted away only because of the heat and closeness of the rooms." Others were sure "it was all a cheat; they might help it if they would. Else why were these things only in the private societies? Why were they not done in the face of the sun?" To-day our Lord answered for Himself, for while I was enforcing these words *Be still, and know that I am God*, He began to make bare His arm, not in a close room, neither in private, but in the open air, and before more than two thousand witnesses. One and another, and another were struck to the earth; exceedingly trembling at the presence of His power. . . . In the evening I was interrupted at Nicholas Street almost as soon as I had begun to speak by the cries of one who was pricked at the heart, and strongly groaned for pardon and peace. . . . Many others began to cry out to the Saviour of all that He would come and help them, insomuch that all the house and indeed all the street for some space was in an uproar. But we continued in prayer, and before ten the greater part found rest to their souls.' [1]

Samuel Wesley, by temperament more cautious than his brother, was not convinced. He writes to John as follows:

'I have my own reason as well as your authority against the exceeding clearness of the divine interposition here. Your followers fall into agonies. I confess it. They are freed from them after you have prayed over them. Granted. They say it is God's doing. I own they say so. Dear brother, where is your ocular demonstration? Where, indeed, is the rational proof? Their living well after may be a probable and sufficient argument that they believe this, but it goes no farther.' [2]

Samuel lays his finger on the weak place in his brother's argument in favour of the necessarily divine origin of these manifestations. Probably he was the unnamed correspondent to whom John had written:

'I will show you him that was a lion till then and is now a lamb, him that was a drunkard, and is now exemplarily sober,

[1] *Journal*, May 21, 1739. [2] Southey's *Life of Wesley*, i. 282.

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the whore-monger that was, who now abhors the very garment spotted by the flesh. These are my living arguments for what I assert, that God does now as aforetime give remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost even to us and to our children, yea and that always suddenly, so far as I have known, and often in dreams or in the visions of God.' [1]

Twenty years later, however, he sums up his conclusions in the following important passage:

'The danger *was* to regard extraordinary circumstances too much, such as outcries, convulsions, visions, trances, as if these were essential to the inward work, so that it could not go on without them. Perhaps the danger *is* to regard them too little, to condemn them altogether, to imagine they had nothing of God in them and were a hindrance to His work. Whereas the truth is: (1) God suddenly and strongly convinced many that they were lost sinners; the natural consequence whereof were sudden outcries and strong bodily convulsions. (2) To strengthen and encourage them that believed and to make His work more apparent, He favoured several of them with divine dreams, others with trances and visions. (3) In some of these instances after a time nature mixed with grace. (4) Satan likewise mimicked this work of God in order to discredit the whole work. And yet it is not wise to give up this part any more than to give up the whole.' [2]

Here is a candid admission of considerable changes of opinion. Wesley's original confidence that the sudden conversion, attested by physical signs, was always the direct work of God could hardly maintain itself against the sinister evidence of relapse on the part of many of the converts. He was not the man to allow himself to fall into a false security. He looked the danger squarely in the face, and took practical measures to guard against it. 'I was more convinced than ever,' he writes, after an unhappy experience in Pembrokeshire, 'that the preaching like an apostle, without joining together those that are awakened and training them up in the ways of God, is only begetting children for the murderer.' [3] Yet while he thus

[1] *Journal*, May 20, 1739. [2] *Ibid.* Nov. 25, 1759.
[3] *Ibid.* Aug. 25, 1763.

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recognized that conversion was only a beginning, which did not of itself ensure a successful issue, he was hampered by the assumption that the physical 'signs and wonders' must necessarily be the effect of immediate spiritual agency, and must therefore be attributed either to God or the devil. Beyond this bare alternative he could not get, and the result was a constant hesitation between the two diametrically opposite explanations.

Now the facts that presented this bewildering appearance to John Wesley, are, as he himself urged, not to be explained away; but they become less perplexing if viewed in the light of conceptions which of recent years have found their way into the science of Psychology. Hypnotism is a word to which discreditable associations have attached themselves, yet it must be admitted that the study of hypnotic phenomena has brought out with increasing clearness the range and intensity of the action of the mind upon the body. Many of those strange happenings which to Wesley and his contemporaries seemed the incontrovertible evidence of the supernatural are now recognized to be the effects of natural, though as yet imperfectly understood, causes. The conditions which determine the occurrence of trance and vision are beginning to be ascertained. The parallels between the symptoms exhibited by the convulsed converts of whom mention has been made and by those who have been brought under hypnotic influence are too close and too many to be dismissed offhand. At any rate it will be found that the terminology of hypnotism is remarkably well fitted to describe the phenomena of a revival. And the admission will be made by those who have not the slightest inclination to reduce conversion to the level of a pathological experience. If we use some of the language of hypnotism to describe the events of a revival it is because the sudden overthrow of mental balance in the shock of conversion is not dissimilar from that which the hypnotist brings about by artificial means. To recognize the resemblance is not to call in question the truth or value of conversion. It is entirely compatible with the belief that the shock which in hypnotism is transient and possibly harmful may in religious con-

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version lead on to permanent and salutary results. In the theory of hypnotism 'suggestion' plays a large part. It is a convenient term for indicating, without professing to explain, the power of the mind of the hypnotist over that of his patient. Many experiments have shewn the extraordinary extent of the control which it is thus possible to exercise over the imagination and will of another. Under the influence of suggestion the patient sees what the hypnotist wills him to see, and acts as the hypnotist bids him act. His own personality is for the time being in abeyance. Now the relation between hypnotist and patient is in some sort parallel with that between revivalist and convert. In both cases we seem to see the force of suggestion at work. Precisely as the hypnotist has no need to make use of eloquent arguments, but controls the mind of his patient directly by means of some psychical force, so also have we found it to be with the revivalist. The power which both exert is very much the same; the difference in the manner and purpose of its use is immense. The one perhaps by way of amusing an audience will excite some absurd delusion for the space of a few minutes; the other seeks to introduce into dull and torpid, even antipathetic, minds the living and authoritative conceptions of religion, and to leave them there in permanent possession. Indeed the problem of securing permanence of result is the chief difficulty which the revivalist has to face, and according to his success in this respect is the value of his work to be estimated. Hope of permanence there is none unless the reflex action of the sudden conversion be transmuted into a vigorous and persistent response on the part of the conscious rational will of the convert. Wesley was too much inclined to classify conversions as either genuine or counterfeit, not allowing sufficiently for the possibility of a long series of gradations between these two extremes. But deficient as his theory may have been, he was certainly working on the right practical lines when he gave himself without reserve to the task of turning the impression which he had once produced into the basis of fixed character. To this end all his organizations were directed. With this object in view he travelled

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again and again over the length and breadth of England, endeavouring so far as possible to meet every member of his societies face to face, at least once in the year. It was an herculean task. The way in which he worked it out is one of the wonders of history.

Not less important than the function of suggestion on the part of the revivalist is the response of the subliminal consciousness in the convert. Although the problems of this as yet almost unknown region of human nature are still far from solution, yet in this direction large accessions of knowledge are expected. Professor James, it will be remembered, reckons the discovery of its existence to be the most important advance in psychology since he became a student of that science. He holds it to be proven

'that there is in certain subjects, at least, not only the consciousness of the ordinary field with its usual centre and margin, but an addition thereto in the shape of a set of memories, thoughts and feelings which are extra-marginal and outside of the primary consciousness altogether, but yet must be classed as conscious facts of some sort, able to reveal their presence by unmistakable signs.' [1]

To this subliminal region the hypnotist seems to have the means of access. He can, partially at all events, call into action its latent powers, its retentive memory, its marvellous rapidity of calculation. Here again what the hypnotist can do, so also on his own field can the revivalist. He has the capacity for getting down into the deeper layers of the consciousness of his listeners, and setting into vibration chords that have been long silent. If there are dormant impressions of religious lessons learnt long ago in childhood he can revive them and make them once more an effective force in the conduct of life. So it is that the recognition of the presence of the subliminal consciousness seems to render the method of sudden conversion a little more intelligible. The suddenness may to some extent, and in certain cases, be more apparent than real. We may at least conjecture that often in the subliminal region a

[1] *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 233.

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subconscious incubation has been proceeding, and that the apparently instantaneous change is the uprush into clear consciousness of a result which has been long in preparation. It is conceivable also that this uprush might never take place unless there were at the critical moment contributory aid from the outside, and that the revivalist is the man fitted with peculiar gifts for rendering this aid to his fellows. Perhaps there are some thus endowed who, through a lack of moral strength, through some infirmity of temper or indisposition to exertion, are traitors to their high vocation and allow their talent to rust away in disuse. From any such reproach John Wesley was conspicuously free. Possessed of these mysterious psychical powers in a pre-eminent degree he was equally pre-eminent in the courage, the tenacity, and the self-devotion with which he put them into exercise. Therein lay his secret of success.

But it may be thought that in the acceptance of these conclusions there is some risk of seeming to explain away the spiritual reality of a revival by reducing it to the level of a merely natural psychological phenomenon. It is a fear which can only arise through a misunderstanding. In a genuine revival the ultimate source of energy is the Divine Spirit, manifesting His power over the hearts of men. But power is not the less divine because it works through instruments. In this case the instrument is the personality of the revivalist. And if our analysis be correct the divinely conferred endowment is not of necessity eloquence or intellect, but a capacity for transmitting his own strong emotions to those around him. This capacity, though in a high degree rare and still very imperfectly understood, is natural in the same sense that other human powers are natural. It belongs to men of very various moral attainments, and can be used for good or bad purposes. If we wish to discover the supernatural element in a revival we must look not at the startling circumstances of the transmission of emotion, but at the source and character of the emotion transmitted. But here we touch limits which the psychologist as such may not pass. The determination of the worth and validity of the religious

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sentiment falls outside his province. How far our consciousness of a spiritual world, our sense of the presence of God is (as we believe) a true reflexion of the ultimate truth of the universe, remains a question for which the philosophy of religion must provide an answer. It is beyond the range of psychology; and nothing but confusion can arise when the distinction between the two sciences is ignored. It is in the philosophy rather than in the psychology of religion that the venture of faith must seek and find its justification. Yet the study of the processes involved in our apprehension of truth can never impair our confidence in knowledge gained whether of things natural or things spiritual. A psychology of religion which keeps within its own bounds will not justly incur the reproach of weakening the foundations of belief.

ART. III.—THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

1. *The History and Use of Creeds and Anathemas in the Early Centuries of the Church.* By CUTHBERT HAMILTON TURNER, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. 'The Church Historical Society.' (London: S.P.C.K., 1906.)
2. *The Athanasian Creed and its Early Commentaries.* By A. E. BURN, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. 'Texts and Studies,' edited by J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, B.D. Vol. IV. (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1896.)
3. *An Introduction to the Creeds and to the Te Deum.* By A. E. BURN, B.D. (London: Methuen & Co., 1899.)
4. *A Critical Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed.* Its original Language, Date, Authorship, Titles, Text, Reception, and Use. By G. D. W. OMMANNEY, M.A., Prebendary of Wells. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1897.)
5. *A Critical History of the Athanasian Creed.* By DANIEL WATERLAND, D.D., formerly Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge; Canon of Windsor, and Arch-

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deacon of Middlesex. A New Edition, revised and corrected by the Rev. J. R. KING, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford. (Oxford and London: James Parker & Co., 1870.)
And many other works.

IT is probable that we shall shortly have some recurrence of the discussion on the position in the services of the Church of England of the *Quicunque Vult* or, as it is commonly called, the Athanasian Creed, the subject being one which is, we believe, to be considered by the Bishops at the next Lambeth Conference. It may be convenient, therefore, to our readers if we attempt a careful review of the present position of opinion as to the history, origin, authority, and use of this ancient document. During recent years, moreover, considerable additions have been made to our knowledge and a number of studies have been produced which demand very careful attention. The whole subject in fact is one which in the face of recent discovery and the conditions of thought at the present day requires careful and temperate understanding. We shall begin with a short review of the history of opinion.

I.

At the time of the Reformation the *Quicunque* appears to have been universally looked upon as the work of St. Athanasius, being known not only in the Latin but also in a Greek version. The beginning of criticism as to its origin must be referred to Vossius, who in his *De Tribus Symbolis*, published in 1642, disproved the Athanasian origin and suggested that it had really been composed in the eighth or ninth century. Ultimately influenced by certain MSS. which Ussher had discovered, he considered that it might have been written not later than the year 600. Between the time of Vossius and Waterland's great work, which was published in the year 1723, a long series of investigations appeared. Most of the ideas which have since been held were then first suggested, and the lines of discussion were laid down. Two opinions seem to have

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prevailed. On the one hand Paschasius Quesnel, in his edition of the works of Leo the Great, published in 1675, attempted to prove that the author was Vigilius of Thapsus, an African theologian who lived towards the end of the fifth century; and this theory obtained a large number of adherents. On the other hand a considerable body of opinion began to connect the work definitely with the history of the Gallican Church, ascribing it to a period not later than the fifth century. Ussher in 1647, without being more precise, thought that it was not later than the year 500. Montfaucon thought that it was a Gallican document of the early part of that century. Antelmi, writing in 1693, definitely ascribed it to St. Vincent of Lerins. Everything which critical investigation up to this period had attained was summed up in the well-known work of Waterland, an admirable example of English scholarship. Following the general tendency of the ablest amongst previous investigators, he ascribed it to the Gallican Church at the beginning of the fifth century, and he suggested that it was the work of St. Hilary of Arles.

For the next 150 years very little seems to have been added to our knowledge of the subject. There is, however, an interesting book by Harvey on *The History of the Creeds*, published in the year 1854, which is both able and original.[1] He ascribed the authorship to Victricius, who was Bishop of Rouen at the beginning of the fifth century, and thought that the date of the Creed was not much later than the year 400. We shall shortly have to consider the argument which suggested this conclusion. It was about the year 1870 that interest in England began to be acute on the use of the *Quicunque* in the services of the Church, and many of the investigations which were undertaken clearly arose from a controversial or practical point of view and not entirely in the interests of pure science. In 1872 Dr. Ffoulkes produced a work characterized by somewhat

[1] *The History and Theology of the Three Creeds.* By the Rev. William Wigan Harvey, M.A., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; Rector of Buckland, Herts. (London: Parker, 1854.) The author was the editor of Irenaeus and the hero of the Ewelme scandal.

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desultory learning and inconsequential reasoning, in which he boldly maintained that it was deliberately forged by Paulinus of Aquileia about the year 800, and put forward under the authority of the Emperor Charlemagne, in the interest of the controversy on the doctrine of the Double Procession.[1] Dr. Swainson and Dr. Lumby of Cambridge were responsible for a theory (based, we believe, originally on a suggestion of Dr. Westcott) that the *Quicunque* in its present form was put together about the year 870, but was a combination of two documents, both of them very much earlier in their origin.[2] It was thought that in that way what are sometimes called the 'damnatory clauses' might be proved to be no real part of the original structure of the document, and as a result of critical investigation might be omitted. The theory will demand a somewhat lengthy investigation. It is enough to say now that a careful study of Dr. Swainson's book, which contains evidence of considerable original investigation, will make it apparent that even in the hands of its own advocate the theory is untenable. He is obliged to supplement it by a further suggestion that there were various tentative editions of the *Quicunque* existing before the year 800, and it becomes impossible to believe that two or more different people should have constructed Creeds independently by the combination of the same two documents and that so little trace of the process should have survived. This theory, however, has obtained a considerable amount of assent

[1] *The Athanasian Creed: by Whom Written and by Whom Published; with other Enquiries on Creeds in general.* Reconsidered in an Appendix. By the Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes, B.D. (London: J. T. Hayes, 1872.) Dr. Ffoulkes was strongly interested in the Roman controversy and the position of the Orthodox Church.

[2] *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds. Their Literary History; together with an Account of the Growth and Reception of the Sermon on the Faith commonly called 'The Creed of St. Athanasius.'* By C. A. Swainson, D.D., Canon of Chichester, Norrisian Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. (London: John Murray, 1875.)—*The History of the Creeds*, by J. Rawson Lumby, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. Third edition. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1887.) The first edition was published in 1873.

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and is supported in a modified form by Professor Harnack in his *History of Christian Dogma*.[1]

The publication of these theories led to renewed interest in the subject and to further and more careful historical investigation; and we owe to the long, laborious, and scholarly work of Mr. Ommanney and Dr. Burn a very much deeper knowledge of the manuscripts and history of the *Quicunque*. Mr. Ommanney[2] discovered and published a considerable number of unknown commentaries on the Creed, and these, together with other investigations of his, began to throw grave doubts on the correctness of Dr. Swainson's theory. Dr. Burn obtained in the year 1888 a prize given by Bishop Lightfoot to the junior clergy of Durham

[1] Harnack, *History of Dogma*, iv. 134 [E.T.]: 'It is extremely probable that the so-called Athanasian Creed, so far as the first half of it is concerned, is a Gallican Rule of Faith explanatory of the Creed of Nicaea. As such it was from the fifth century onwards, by means of the theology of Augustine and Vincentius of Lerinum, gradually made into a course of instruction for the clergy, *i.e.* the monks, suitable for being committed to memory. . . . It is probable that in the course of the sixth century it essentially received its present technical form in Southern Gaul where the West-Gothic Spanish Arianism still continued to provoke opposition. In the middle of the sixth century it, or at least a recension very similar to it, was already current as the authoritative course of instruction for the clergy in Southern Gaul, and was together with the Psalms learned by heart. It got into the decisions of single Councils from the Psalm-books and breviaries of the monks and clergy, in so far as the practice had here begun of appealing to single statements in this rule of faith. Starting from here it gradually came to be the Confession of the Frankish Church in the eighth and ninth centuries. It was perhaps then that the second Christological half was added, the origin of which is completely wrapped in obscurity; it was, of course, put together before the ninth century.' In vol. v. p. 303 he again alludes to the question in a long note, in which he attempts to defend the conclusions stated above against the criticisms of Loofs on internal grounds.

[2] Mr. Ommanney's books are as follows: *The Athanasian Creed, with special reference to the so-called Damnatory Clauses.* A paper read at a Ruridecanal Chapter. London, 1872.—*The Athanasian Creed: its Use in the Services of the Church.* A paper read at the Bath and Wells Diocesan Conference. London, 1872.—*The Athanasian Creed: an Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin.* London, 1875.—*The Early History of the Athanasian Creed.* London, 1880.—*The S.P.C.K. and the Creed of St. Athanasius.* 1884.—*A Critical Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed.* Oxford, 1897.

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for an essay on the Athanasian Creed, and then, after devoting his spare time for seven years to further investigations, produced in the Cambridge series of *Texts and Studies* a dissertation on the Athanasian Creed and its early commentaries. This was followed up by his *History of the Creeds*, published in 1899. He has added very largely to our knowledge both of the manuscripts of the *Quicunque* and of the early commentaries written upon it, and has cleared up a number of doubtful questions. The works of Mr. Ommanney and Dr. Burn mark a real advance. It is interesting to notice that although they agree in their main conclusion, connecting the *Quicunque* with the early history of the Gallican Church and the School of Lerins, Mr. Ommanney thinks that it was the work of St. Vincent, while Dr. Burn suggests—he does not do more—St. Honoratus, the founder of the community. No other considerable works have appeared since, so far as we are aware, but various suggestions have been thrown out in reviews. Dr. Kattenbusch [1] suggests that the Creed dates from the time before and not after the publication of St. Augustine's work on the Trinity, that is, he would put it as early as 410 at latest. Dr. Loofs,[2] on the other hand, while criticizing with great acuteness the two-document theory, is inclined to think that the Creed was the result of a process of growth. Finally, the distinguished Benedictine scholar Dom Morin,[3] who is, as is well known, engaged upon a critical edition of the writings of Caesarius, Bishop of Arles from 503 to 543, has suggested that the *Quicunque Vult* is to be attributed to him. This suggestion has been taken up by Mr. C. H. Turner in an acute and able paper on the Creeds, which we have placed at the head of this article, and will demand our careful attention.

[1] In a review of Dr. Burn's first work in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1897, No. 5, p. 138.

[2] In Herzog, *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd ed. ii. p. 177. Article, 'Athanasianum.'

[3] Dom G. Morin, 'Le Symbole d'Athanase et son premier Témoin, Saint Césaire d'Arles,' *Revue Bénédictine*, xviii. 1902, p. 337.

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II.

The first question which comes before us is that of the Athanasian origin. It is hardly, we think, necessary to discuss this at any length, as, although a work appeared in its defence, by Mr. Brewer,[1] in the year 1872, it is not held, so far as we know, by any critic or theologian of authority. The arguments against it may be shortly stated. All the evidence is in favour of Latin being the original language, the different Greek versions—and there are more than one in existence—shewing quite clearly signs of translation. Whereas the Latin version is contained in many early manuscripts, those of the Greek version are very much later. All the early testimony and early quotations are in Latin authors, and there are none in any Greek authorities for many hundred years after the time of Athanasius. Moreover the theology is definitely and decisively Latin, and although it is concerned with the two great heresies which existed in the lifetime of St. Athanasius—Arianism and Apollinarianism—yet it is not too much to say that the exposition of the doctrine could not have come from him; there are in fact statements to which he would probably have objected. Moreover, as will appear subsequently, the attribution to St. Athanasius was probably not original, many earlier authorities which contained the document knowing nothing of the suggested authorship.

But although the *Quicunque* was certainly not by Athanasius there can be no doubt that the attribution to him has had a great deal to do with much of the authority which it possesses. There is little to be said for the opinion of Dr. Ffoulkes, which we referred to above, but the existence of a document believed to be by St. Athanasius, and apparently favouring the doctrine of the Double Procession, was of extreme value in the controversy with the

[1] *The Athanasian Creed Vindicated, with an Appendix on the Proposed Revision of the Present Version.* (London: Rivingtons, 1871.)—*The Athanasian Origin of the Athanasian Creed*, by J. S. Brewer, M.A., Preacher at the Rolls, and Honorary Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. (London: Rivingtons, 1872.)

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Eastern Church, and thus at various crises in that controversy it has come prominently to the front. That may well be the reason why after the year 800 we hear so much more of it than before. That was certainly the reason why it was so prominent just before the Reformation, at the time of the Council of Florence; and the attribution to St. Athanasius, no doubt with other reasons which we shall mention later, led to the prominent position it occupies in the English Prayer Book. This attribution then has been very important in the history of the *Quicunque*, but of course its authority as a Creed is independent of the question of authorship. To prove that it was by Athanasius would not for that reason give it any real *authority*. There are confessions of faith written by Athanasius, as by other doctors of the Church, which carry weight owing to the respect felt for their author, but have no authority. On the other hand, a document which is not by him, even if it has been mistakenly attributed to him, may still have authority, if it is formally adopted by the general voice of the Church.

III.

The next point which comes up for consideration is the two-document theory of Dr. Swainson and Dr. Lumby. It is conceded on all sides that from the year 870 there is abundant evidence for the existence of the *Quicunque* in its present form, and we shall make that accepted fact the starting point of our investigations. Dr. Swainson's theory is that about that date it was put together in its present form out of two documents of which he finds traces in earlier authorities. In the year 798 Denebert, Bishop-elect of Worcester, made before Ethelhard, Archbishop of Canterbury, his profession of faith. In this he quoted clauses 1, 3–6, 20–22, 24, and 25 of the *Quicunque Vult*, and further promised to observe the decrees of the Popes and the six Catholic synods. All these clauses come from the first part. The second document is what is called the Trèves fragment. This is contained in a manuscript at present at Paris, of the eighth century, written in Lombardic

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characters. The writer states that he had found in a manuscript at Trèves a fragment which he proceeds to give. It contains clauses 27 to 40 of the *Quicunque*, with the exception of clause 35, and with a certain number of variations. Now with regard to these two documents it may be noticed that neither of them is a very solid foundation to build upon. Denebert in his profession quotes only eight clauses—namely, those which suited his purpose—and there was no particular reason why he should quote the later part, which concerned matters clearly defined in the Councils of the Church to the decrees of which he expressed his adhesion. The Trèves fragment is, again, obviously and professedly a fragment, and begins in the middle of a sentence; this shews that the original from which it was copied was mutilated. Moreover it is in the form of a sermon, and the variations from the original text can be more naturally explained on the assumption of free quotation than of a first draft. The positive arguments therefore in favour of the theory are not strong; and since it was first put forward it has become quite untenable, because, apart from other evidence much of which is weighty, the *Quicunque* in its present form has been found in at least four manuscripts which undoubtedly belong to the eighth century—that is, at least seventy years before it was *ex hypothesi* put together. In the process of our investigation it will appear that there is considerable further evidence against it.

Side by side with this we may perhaps refer to the theory of Loofs,[1] mentioned above, that the *Quicunque Vult* has grown up by accretion. It may be said at once that anyone who reads it carefully must have very grave doubts as to whether this is possible. From beginning to end it runs in the same balanced and antithetical style; the two different parts are connected together by a clause which

[1] Loofs, *op. cit.*: 'Die in No 7 besprochenen *expositiones fidei* verhalten zu dem *Quicunque* nicht wie roh gesungene Reminiscenzen zu der sorgfaltig modulierten Melodie an die sich anklingen, sondern wie im Steinbruch gebliebene Bruchsteine sich zu einem Steine gleichen Ursprungs verhalten, den die glättende Macht eines Stromes um viele Meilen weiter theilabwärts gewälzt hat.'

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resembles those at the beginning and the end, and gives definite unity to the whole document. Moreover, although the manuscripts of the *Quicunque* shew the amount of variation in the text which is natural in any ancient document, there are no traces of any other recension. Of course in quotations and in the Trèves fragment, which was built on quotation, there are variations; and some writers quote, of course, only a portion. All these facts can be explained quite naturally by the ordinary rules of historical quotation far better than by supposing that other documents exist of which no certain trace has been left. We shall find throughout the period from 500 to 800 a considerable number of scattered testimonies. It is far easier and more in accordance with all the rules of historical criticism to assume that these quotations come from knowledge of the *Quicunque*, than that it has been laboriously put together by a process of selection from a considerable number of scattered documents. It is an historical rule that the theory which supposes the smallest number of documents is the most probable. Neither on external nor internal grounds are there any real reasons for thinking that the *Quicunque* ever existed in a form differing at all substantially from that which we possess. Having therefore cleared away these two rival theories we must now investigate very carefully the evidence, external and internal, as to its origin.

IV.

It is universally admitted that the *Quicunque* was in existence in its present form after the year 870, and it is contained in a considerable number of manuscripts undoubtedly of the ninth century. That must be our starting-point for our backward investigation. But recent discoveries have enabled us to put back the starting-point earlier still. Dr. Burn is able to enumerate at least four manuscripts of the eighth century which contain it, and if we are to trust the suggestions of Dr. Künstle[1] this evidence

[1] *Antipriscilliana*, von Dr. Karl Künstle (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1905), p. 208. Dr. Künstle's book demands very careful study, but a good deal of is speculation appears a little wild.

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takes us back very much further, because, as he shews, almost all the eighth-century Carolingian manuscripts are directly copied from originals of the sixth century or earlier. The intervening period was so disturbed that literary work and the production of manuscripts were almost impossible. It would be very unlikely that a document contained in four eighth-century manuscripts should belong to a later period than the sixth century. Our next lines of investigation are ancient commentaries. Seven of these are known, for the most part contained in manuscripts of the ninth or tenth century, and the existence of such commentaries does not suggest a very recent origin. But, further, we find that these commentaries make use of one another. For instance, the Orleans commentary is found in ninth-century manuscripts, and makes use of at least four others; and these, again, are not independent of each other. We are therefore taken back to a period presumably earlier than the eighth century. Amongst the commentaries is one which has been generally ascribed (although without very adequate reason) to Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, who died about the year 600. It has played a large part in the controversy concerning the history of the *Quicunque*. Its date and authority it is impossible to decide with any degree of exactness, but it is certainly difficult to place it later than the year 700. The combined evidence of these manuscripts and commentaries throws the *Quicunque* back to the sixth century.

But among the manuscripts is one to which reference has already been made, that containing the Trèves fragment. It was, as we have said, written in the eighth century, and it is undoubtedly copied from an earlier document. The scribe discovered a fragment at Trèves; that manuscript must have been written at some period earlier than he discovered it, and this evidence probably takes us into the sixth century. Dr. Burn suggests that the fragment in question is possibly an extract from a sermon by Nicetius, Archbishop of Trèves from 527 to 566.

For the sixth century we have further evidence of a kind which seems quite conclusive. In the year 633 the

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fourth Council of Toledo met and published, as was usual with councils, a canon concerning the Faith. This canon is largely made up of extracts from the *Quicunque*, extending over both portions and including quotations from thirteen clauses. Various attempts have been made to evade this evidence, but we must agree with Dr. Burn in thinking that it is absolutely conclusive. The extracts follow the order of the *Quicunque*. Moreover it has been shewn that the canon was constructed by blending extracts from that document with another confession of faith called the *Fides Damasi*. Now it might be conceivable that the *Quicunque* had been constructed by some ingenious compiler out of careful extracts from this canon of Toledo, but it becomes quite inconceivable that he should have carefully picked out all those passages which are not contained in the *Fides Damasi* in order to construct a new creed. It seems certain, therefore, that this canon of the Council of Toledo in 633 was drawn up by someone well acquainted with the *Quicunque*. But this is not an isolated phenomenon. In five successive Councils of Toledo between 589 and 693 we have what would naturally be considered reminiscences or quotations. The following extract from Dr. Swainson's work may be accepted as evidence of this statement:

'In the Council of Toledo, 589, we have, similarly, clauses 4, 5, 13, 33 *a*.

'In the Council of Toledo, 633, we have 4, 21, 22, 23, and 33.

'In the Council of Toledo, 638, we have the words of 21, 22, 23, 32 *a*, 34 *b*, 35 *b*, 36 *b*.

'In the Council of Toledo, 675, we have 3 *b*, 4, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 32, 33, 35, 36 *b*.

'In the Council of Toledo, 693, we have 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, 15, 23, 25, 31.'[1]

Our evidence takes us back so far by various independent lines to the sixth century. How much earlier can we get? An undoubted quotation occurs in a sermon which is now unanimously ascribed by all critics to Caesarius, Bishop of

[1] Swainson, *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, p. 444.

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Arles from 503 to 543. As this extract is of some importance we shall quote it in full:

1. 'Rogo et admoneo nos fratres carissimi ut *quicunque*
(40) *uult saluus esse fidem rectam catholicam* discat, *firmiter*
teneat inuiolatamque conseruet. Ita ergo oportet unicuique
15. obseruare ut credat Patrem credat Filium credat Spiritum
16. Sanctum. *Deus Pater Deus Filius Deus et Spiritus Sanctus*
7. sed *tamen non tres Dii sed unus Deus. Qualis Pater talis*
Filius talis et Spiritus Sanctus. Attamen credat unusquis-
31. que fidelis quod Filius *aequalis* est *Patri secundum diuinitatem* et *minor est Patre secundum humanitatem* carnis quam de nostro assumpsit; Spiritus uero Sanctus ab utroque procedens.'[1]

It will be noticed that this sermon contains extracts from both portions, and substantially, though not entirely, in the original order. Here we get to the latest possible date which modern scholarship will allow. As we have said, Dom Morin and Mr. Turner both ascribe the authorship of the *Quicunque* to Caesarius, and it is quite clear that either he was acquainted with it or was the author of it. But without definitely deciding that question at present we must continue our backward investigation. Avitus, who was Bishop of Vienne from 490 to 523, has quotations from the Creed. This evidence of course is not inconsistent with the Caesarian authorship. Previous to this date we have very clear resemblances in language in two authors, St. Vincent of Lerins and St. Augustine, but it is not so easy to decide in these cases whether we are dealing with quotations or with the original sources. With regard to St. Vincent of Lerins the words of Dr. Swainson may again be quoted. We have 'in the writings of Vincentius of Lerins, words nearly resembling the clauses 3, 4, 5, 6 *a*, 30 *b*, 31, 32.'[2] Although we cannot say with certainty which is the original, a comparison of certain passages seems to suggest that St. Vincent has somewhat modified the

[1] Burn, *An Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 151.
[2] Swainson, *Op. cit.* p. 444.

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language of the *Quicunque* in view of the Nestorian controversy.[1]

With regard to the relation between the language of the *Quicunque* and that of St. Augustine, which is very close, the usual explanation is that it contains a summary of the Augustinian theology on the Trinity. This is probable. It is more likely on the whole that this method of exposition should first come from the writings of the great constructive theologian of the fourth century than from some anonymous and unknown source. At the same time it must be recorded that some writers at the present day are of a contrary opinion and consider the *Quicunque* the original source of this teaching. How close the resemblance in language is in some cases the following short extract will shew:

'There is such a power of identity in the substance of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, that whatever is said of each singly in themselves, must be understood, not in collective plurality, but singly. *For as the Father is God, and the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God*, which nobody doubts to be affirmed of the Divine Substance, still we do not declare that most Glorious Trinity *to be three Gods, but one God.* In the same way, the Father is Great, the Son is Great, and the Holy Ghost is Great, yet they be not three Great, but one Great. For it is not of the Father alone, as they perversely say, but of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, that it is written, "Thou alone, O God, art Great." The Father again is Good, the Son is Good, and the Holy Ghost is Good; but they be not three Good, but one Good, of whom it is said, "None is Good but God only." . . . *The Father therefore is Almighty, the Son is Almighty, the Holy Ghost is Almighty; and yet they be not three Almighties, but one Almighty*, of whom, and through whom, and in whom, are all things, to Him be glory. Whatever therefore God is said to be

[1] For example compare the following: *Quicunque*, § 28. 'Quia Dominus noster Iesus Christus, Dei Filius, Deus pariter et homo est.' *Commonitorium*, c. 19. 'Unus idemque Christus, unus idemque Filius Dei . . . . unus idemque Christus Deus et homo.' An example of close similarity in language is the following: *Quicunque*, § 5. 'Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti.' *Commonitorium*, c. 19. 'Quia scilicet alia est persona Patris alia Filii alia Spiritus Sancti.'

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in Himself, is also said separately of each person, that is, of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and at the same time of the very Trinity, not plurally but singly.'[1] 'That which the three persons of the Trinity are said to be in themselves, means not a triple plurality, but one and the very Trinity; *as the Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Ghost is God*; and the Father is Good, the Son is Good, the Holy Ghost is Good; *and the Father is Almighty, the Son is Almighty, the Holy Ghost is Almighty; and yet there are not three Gods, or three Good, or three Almighties;* but one Good, *Almighty God*, the very Trinity.'[2]

To sum up the external evidence: It is impossible to ascribe the composition of the *Quicunque* to a later date than Caesarius of Arles, and it is probable that it was known to St. Vincent of Lerins. On the other hand, it is more likely on the whole that it was composed by one well acquainted with the writings of St. Augustine than that it was the source of his speculations.

V.

Next as to the internal evidence. This was investigated with great thoroughness by Waterland. The ground has been gone over again by Dr. Burn, and he has substantially corroborated all Waterland's main contentions. The chief points are the following: In the first place, while the Creed has a marked resemblance to the theology of St. Augustine, it was quite clearly in its origin not Augustinian and probably not African, because while St. Augustine always used the word 'essentia' as a translation of the Greek οὐσία the *Quicunque* uses the word 'substantia.' In the second place, the Creed shews no trace of the influence of Nestorianism or Eutychianism. And, although the rule cannot be considered absolute, it is not likely that a Confession of Faith drawn up after these heresies had arisen would contain no reference to them. For example, St. Vincent of Lerins wrote his well-known *Commonitorium*

[1] Augustine, *De Trinitate*, v. 9. These two quotations are taken directly from Harvey, *op. cit.* ii. 562–564, whose translation has been used.

[2] Aug. *de Trin.* viii. 1.

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only two or three years after the outbreak of Nestorianism, but he deals with it with considerable fulness. It is difficult to conceive that this Creed should have been written in the fifth century, after the rise of those two heresies, without some reference to them. Moreover some of the language which is used, especially the analogy between the two natures in the person of Christ and the relation of the soul to the body, ceased to be popular after the rise of Eutychianism, as capable of a misuse by heretics. The language of the Creed has been studied with the very greatest care, and attempts have been made to find signs of later origin, but almost every passage in it can be paralleled by the writings of early theologians, and it is to the present writer quite clear that the earlier origin is more probable.

So far Waterland. The arguments in favour of his position have now been considerably strengthened by the fact that the exact situation which would lead to the production of such a document existed in the Western Church during the early half of the fifth century. Dr. Burn, whose arguments have been amplified and perhaps exaggerated by Dr. Künstle, first pointed out that this situation was created by Priscillianism. That somewhat obscure heresy seems to have combined a Sabellian and an Apollinarian tendency, a combination which exactly suits the language of the *Quicunque*. It is against these two tendencies that it is particularly directed, as is shewn by its insistence on the distinctness as well as the union of the Persons of the Trinity. And the specific reference to the resurrection of the body also touches on the errors of this heresy. Putting these various points together, the evidence in favour of the *Quicunque* belonging to a period earlier than the rise of Nestorianism, *i.e.* the year 429, is very strong.

VI.

We are now in a position to consider the various possible theories as to the authorship of the Creed. We have mentioned that the attribution to Caesarius of Arles has the authority of Dom Morin upon its side, and has been accepted

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by Mr. Turner.[1] As the former, however, wrote before he had seen some recent investigations he may possibly reconsider his opinion. At any rate we shall be in a far better position to judge of the arguments in its favour when he has produced his edition of the writings of Caesarius. Up till now he has adduced nothing which would not be equally well explained supposing that Caesarius were well acquainted with the language of the *Quicunque* and had learnt it by heart. We are bound to say that it seems to us at present that the reasons for an earlier date are too strong to enable us to accept this suggestion. We will, however, quote what Mr. Turner has to say in its favour. He suggests that the Semi-Pelagian School of Lerins would hardly be likely to have made so much use of St. Augustine's theology, and he then continues :

'But is there no writer, later than the middle of the fifth century yet earlier than the middle of the sixth, Gallican himself yet a profound student of the writings of St. Augustine, a compiler rather than a creator, yet a compiler of the first order, to whom the Athanasian Creed can be attributed ? It is the merit of Dom Germain Morin to have supplied a tentative answer to these questions in proposing the name of St. Caesarius of Arles.

'Of course a guess, however brilliant, remains only a guess : and no doubt Morin, who has devoted many years to the laborious task of collecting and sifting the materials for an edition of St. Caesarius, lies under a natural temptation to look for the solution of vexed questions along the lines of his special study. But the parallels with which he illustrates from the writings of Caesarius one after another of the characteristic turns of phrase in the *Quicumque*, though they do not actually prove identity of authorship, give the hypothesis at least the right to hold the field until a better one can be found to supersede it. And there are perhaps few hypotheses which have to fit in with so many *data* and which fit in with them all so well.

'Also, if Caesarius was the author, we have in his authorship

[1] It is interesting to note that this conclusion had also been arrived at by Mr. Cooper-Marsdin. Cf. *Caesarius, Bishop of Arles, claimed as Author of the Athanasian Creed.* By A. Cooper-Marsdin, B.D., Vicar of Borstal. (Rochester : T. Oldroyd. 1903.)

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a possible explanation of the use of the name of St. Athanasius. The evidence of the MSS. shows indeed that this description was not at first universal; and it may be that we have here to do only with one more example of the habit, equally incurable among ancient scribes and modern critics, of discovering a writer for every anonymous treatise. Yet St. Athanasius was perhaps hardly the Father on whom the thoughts of an ordinary scribe in the seventh or later sixth century would have run: and at no time was the pseudonymous employment of his name very common in the West—indeed the only striking instance of it (apart from the Creed itself) is in connexion with the books *de Trinitate* which are printed among the works of Vigilius of Thapsus. Caesarius, however, is exactly the man for our case, since he had a quite unique passion for borrowing material from earlier Fathers, working it up himself, and then publishing the composite result under their name rather than his own. Normally, of course, the writer to be thus exploited was St. Augustine—many of the sermons relegated by the Benedictine editors of St. Augustine to the appendix are made up of genuine Augustinian matter in a Caesarian dress—but Morin has detected in a MS. of the Cathedral library at Cologne (no. clxxi, saec. ix) a couple of homilies of indubitably Caesarian origin masquerading under the title "sancti Anathasi." On the whole, then, there seems good reason to believe that the same hand which penned the *Quicumque* prefixed to it the heading "Fides sancti Athanasii," and that the hand was that of bishop Caesarius of Arles.' [1]

With regard to the last argument we are bound to say that it does not appeal to us very strongly. As we shall shew shortly, the attribution to St. Athanasius is not universal in the early manuscripts and commentaries. How it arose we cannot say, but if the name of Athanasius had been fixed to the Creed from the beginning it seems to us certain that it would have been found almost universally attached to it. Just the one point which Mr. Turner particularly makes is one that at present does not convince us. Failing further evidence we must decline to accept this suggestion.

It may be convenient next to consider the various theories which place the *Quicunque* before the time of St. Augustine. A writer in the eighteenth century—Speroni, whose works

[1] Turner, *op. cit.* p. 74.

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we have not seen—has suggested that Hilary of Poitiers was the author. Mr. Harvey suggested Victricius; Kattenbusch proposes a date before the writing of St. Augustine's work on the Trinity; and Künstle thinks that it was produced in Spain, in the fourth quarter of the fourth century, as a document directed against Priscillianism. This last opinion is connected with theories as to the date of various Spanish Confessions of Faith, which are neither proved nor probable, and do not strengthen our opinion of the writer's judgement; but the whole question on which the early date depends is the connexion with the writings of St. Augustine; and, as we have already suggested, it certainly seems more likely that the belief and expressive language of the *Quicunque* should have its source in the writings of a great theologian than in some unknown writer in Spain, who was merely producing a formula for controversial purposes.

We come now to the third and on the whole the most prevalent theory which connects the *Quicunque* with the School of Lerins, the community founded by Honoratus on the little island off the southern coast of France, which had as decisive an influence on Christianity in Gaul as Iona or Lindisfarne had in these islands. Those who had been trained within its walls became bishops throughout Gaul, and the influence of its theology would spread in every direction. Whatever theory we may have as to the origin of the Creed its extension almost certainly belongs to the influence of Lerins. We have ourselves no doubt that St. Vincent was acquainted with the language of the *Quicunque*, as in all probability were Faustus and Honoratus, and all the conditions required for its composition are supplied by this solution. Although on the question of predestination the community of Lerins was opposed to the extremer Augustinian teaching there is no reason why they should not have been influenced by his work on the Trinity, and we know that they were in direct contact with the thought of other portions of the Christian world. It is quite certain that St. Vincent had read Augustine if he had not read the *Quicunque*. Whether the author were Hilary of Arles, as Waterland suggested, or

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St. Vincent himself, or Honoratus, the founder of the community, as Dr. Burn suggests, is a matter which cannot be determined. The writing is anonymous, and until we get more conclusive evidence it would be impossible to fix its authorship. Future investigation will no doubt help us further. We cannot consider that the various questions which we have discussed are in all cases answered with certainty, but it is to us fairly clear either that the *Quicunque* was the work of some member of the community of Lerins or that at any rate it was known and used there; and that it was through the influence of the members of that community that it obtained such general acceptance throughout the Gallican Church.

VII.

We have next to consider the authority and use of the *Quicunque*. Whoever may have been its author its authority must ultimately depend upon its acceptance by the Church. Its early history is somewhat obscure, we do not know for what purpose it was originally written; but the first evidence that we have of its use suggests the reason why it became so widely known. In the canons of the Council of Autun held in the year 670 it is stated 'if any presbyter, deacon, sub-deacon or clericus shall through negligence have failed to study the Creed (*Symbolum*) which the Apostles handed down under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and the Faith (*Fides*) of St. Athanasius the prelate (*praesulis*), let him be condemned by the bishop.' [1]

[1] We have quoted this passage as the earliest, but the testimony that it gives to the use of the *Quicunque* in the training of the clergy is supported by a long list of authorities, which are given at length in the works we have referred to. Compare also Hincmar, c. 852 A.D. (*apud* Swainson, *op. cit.* 302): 'Hincmar required that each of his presbyters should learn, at fuller length than any had yet done, an Exposition of the Creed and of the Lord's Prayer, according to the tradition of the orthodox Fathers, and so diligently instruct the people committed to him. Then he is to learn the preface to the canon, and the canon of the mass itself, and the prayers of the mass; and be able to read the "Apostle" and Gospel, and know the words of the Psalms and the pauses by rule: and how to pronounce them from memory and the usual canticles. "And

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This suggests that its formal use was for the education and training of the clergy. If that be so we can understand why the knowledge of it spread so widely. It was connected as we have seen with the brotherhood of Lerins, a brotherhood which supplied bishops for all the principal dioceses of Southern Gaul. All those who went out from there (such as Caesarius) would have learned it by heart, and would have been trained in its use. They would introduce the same custom in the dioceses over which they were appointed to preside, and in that way it would gradually spread as it did throughout Western Christendom. And there was every reason that it should spread. It was admirably adapted for the times when it was written; it expressed the orthodox belief in the current theological language in words admirably chosen and with an attractive rhythm. It was a time when Catholicism and Arianism were arrayed one against the other, not as two rival philosophies or religions but as two political causes. It was the soldier's watchword, and it meant to everyone a description of the orthodox faith to which he was attached, and a reminder that he was not to be a traitor to the orthodox cause on the field of battle. How early it was used in the services of the Church we cannot say; its rhythmical form suggests that probably it was intended to be sung, and we know that the island of Lerins was famous for its Church hymns as well as for its Church teaching. It had then at this time all the authority of a popular and suitable exposition of the Faith, but in no sense had it the authority of a Creed.

The question must be raised, How did the name of Athanasius become attached to it? It was not original.[1]

also let every one commit to memory the Sermon of Athanasius on the Faith, of which the commencement is *Quicunque uult saluus esse*— and let him comprehend its meaning, and be able to explain it in the vulgar tongue (*communibus uerbis enuntiare queat*)."

[1] The facts are as follows: Out of 22 MSS. three have *Fides Catholica*, six have *Fides S. Athanasii* in some form (*S. Ath.*, *S. Ath. Epi.*, *S. Ath. Al.*, *S. Ath. Ep. Al.*), five combine the two *Fides Catholica S. Athanasii Episcopi* (*Al.*), then we have *F.C. edita a. S.A.A. epo.*, *F.C. tradita a. S.A.A. epo.*, *Hymnus Athanasii de fide Trinitatis*, *Fides S. Anathasii Epi.* Of the commentaries six have only *Fides Catholica*, two *F.C.S.A.*

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It is not known by the writers of some of the earliest commentaries. It is not given in many early manuscripts, and it is quite clear that if it had been called by the name of Athanasius from the beginning it would universally have borne that name. But the period was one when great persons' names became attached with considerable ease to documents. There were two other Confessions of Faith, one called the *Fides Damasi* and another called the *Fides Hieronymi*, but it is doubtful whether either Damasus or Jerome was responsible for them. Another document, the *Fides Romanorum*, was occasionally ascribed to Athanasius. One of the difficulties in studying the history of Christianity in Gaul is that apparently most of the documents and sermons are ascribed to the wrong authors, and the necessary critical work has not yet been done. The fact therefore that a Creed admirably adapted for opposing Arianism and Sabellianism should have been called the Faith of St. Athanasius, the great champion of orthodoxy against Arianism, is really one which needs no explanation; as no author's name was attached to the *Quicunque* historical imagination would quickly connect it with the name of the great Bishop of Alexandria.

It is at the beginning of the ninth century that it first comes into daylight. By this time it had through its intrinsic merits survived all its rivals. We mentioned above three other Confessions of Faith which belonged to the Western Church. There were others also which we have not mentioned. The use of the *Quicunque* gradually spread on the principle of the survival of the fittest, and owing to its use as a manual of instruction for the clergy it was widely known throughout Spain and Gaul. It was known also in Northern Italy and commentaries had been written upon it. By this time, too, we find evidence of its being used in the services of the Church.

But the circumstances of the time were destined to make

epi., one *F.C.S.A.* In quotations before the year 900 it is very variously described as *Catholica Fides*, *Sermo Athanasii de fide*, *Sermo Catholicae Fidei*, *Libellus de fide b. Ath. Alex. Epi.*, *Sermo Athanasii de Fide S. Trinitatis.* See Burn, *Athanasian Creed*, pp. 2, 3, 41.

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it still more important. This was the period when the controversy between the East and the West on the doctrine of the Double Procession became prominent, and in the year 809 the Latin monks in the Monastery at Mount Olivet, who were accused of heresy for singing the Nicene Creed with the interpolated words, quoted in support of it a document which they described as the Faith of Athanasius. To be able to quote the words as it was believed of the great Father of Eastern Christianity added abundant strength to their cause, and henceforth the influence of the *Quicunque* in the West became intensified. It was used by Gregory IX. against the Easterns at Constantinople in the thirteenth century; it was used also at the Council of Florence. But though its intrinsic merits, its suitability to the conditions of the time and the name associated with it, gradually made the use of the *Quicunque* universal in the West, it does not seem to have received the technical name of 'Symbolum' until the twelfth century. Up till then it had been always called *Fides* or *Sermo* or *Expositio Fidei*, and these names were continued by many theologians right up to the time of the Reformation. On the other hand, the custom gradually prevailed of speaking of the 'Three Creeds.' The first who did so apparently was Alexander Hales, and the usage became fairly common. We find it, for example, in the popular religious books printed in England just before the Reformation. St. Thomas Aquinas, who accepts the three Creeds, has some little difficulty about the Athanasian. He recognizes that the Creed ought to have the authority of a General Council. What right then had Athanasius to put forward a Creed in his own name? He had not done so. He had only put forward a sermon or an exposition on the Faith, but the authority of the sovereign pontiff had raised it to the rank of a Creed. Aquinas apparently assumes that some Pope had definitely given authority to the Athanasian Creed. But, as a matter of fact, we believe that there is no document in the Roman Church which gives it the authority that, for example, our Articles do. It is an interesting fact that the final recognition of the Creed by authority was the work of the

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Reformation. This was natural. All orthodox reformers alike were anxious to make their orthodoxy on the great question of the Faith clear, and therefore they accepted the popular terminology of the three Creeds. They dreaded the accusation of Socinianism. We see this tendency in our own Church not only in the importance of the position which it gives to the Athanasian Creed, but also in the Proper Preface and Collect for Trinity Sunday and the dignity given in our Prayer Book to that festival. The 'symbolic' authority, then, of the Athanasian Creed was mainly the work of the Reformation.

At the present time the 'Athanasian Creed' is accepted in the Roman Church as part of the Catholic tradition, but it does not appear to have any definite authority. Dr. Burn describes its use as follows:

'Thus in the English Church alone has it been made a popular creed, the Roman Church continuing to use it in the office of Prime on Sundays only. Some restriction of that use has resulted from "the gradual encroachment of the *Sanctorale* upon the *Temporale*, (1) through the multiplication of saints' days, and (2) to a less extent by the raising of the 'ritus' or dignity of individual festivals. According to the general rubrics, if a 'festum duplex' fall on an ordinary Sunday, 'fit officium de festo, commemoratio de Dominica.' How often this occurs depends largely on the particular calendar in use; *e.g.* English Jesuits use the Roman calendar supplemented by the *Proprium Soc. Jesu* and by the *Proprium Angliae*, with the result that hardly a Sunday in the year escapes 'occurrence.' But occurrence—even with a 'duplex'—does not crowd out the Sunday office in the case of the Sundays in Advent and Lent, or of Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima, so the *Quicunque* (with the rest of the Sunday office) survives on these, and (as regards the *Quicunque*) on Trinity Sunday. In the case of the secular clergy there will be fewer cases of occurrence, and the Sunday office is more frequently, or less infrequently, recited."'[1]

In the Eastern Church it has no authority as a Creed. The following summary by Mr. Ommanney, who is through-

[1] *An Introduction to the Creeds*, by A. E. Burn, B.D., p. 184.

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out a defender of its use, will be conclusive on that point:

'In the Eastern Orthodox Church it has never been received as a Creed, nor in any of its branches, including of course its most important and vigorous branch, the Russian Church. Nor has it ever been recited in the Offices of the Eastern Church, nor those of any of her branches. The same may be said of the Apostles' Creed. Both these Creeds are Western documents. The Constantinopolitan Creed of course without the *Filioque* clause—the Nicene so-called—is the Creed said in the Eastern Offices, as in the Eastern Liturgy, viz. at Compline and the Midnight Office. An undue significance has been attached, it must be admitted, sometimes of late to the insertion of our document in the only form in which the Greeks acknowledge it —without the καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ in ver. 22—in the Appendix of the modern Greek Horologium, as though proving its reception by the Greek Church, whereas that very position shows that it has no place in the Offices of the Horologium. At the same time, the fact of its being admitted to this position under the express and repeated sanction of the ecclesiastical authorities at Constantinople may be understood apparently to indicate the acceptance and approval of our Creed on the part of the Eastern Church as a doctrinal formula, barring the doctrine of the double Procession of the Holy Ghost. On this point, the marked exclusion of the words "and of the Son," especially when considered in connexion with the evident allusion to it in the subjoined note, can only be regarded, I fear, as accentuating the difference between the Eastern and Western Churches. With a similar reservation it is necessary to understand the guarded language of Plato, Archbishop of Moscow, in regard to its use and acceptance by the Russian Church: "Our Church acknowledges the Symbol of St. Athanasius and it has a place among ecclesiastical books, we are also enjoined to follow the faith which it teaches, but it is never recited. It is sufficient for us that it contains nothing which is not agreeable with sound and orthodox doctrine." This must have reference to the Creed only in the text regarded as authentic by Eastern theologians. It is necessary to add that the insertion of it in the Horologium, dating as has been shown above from so recent a period as the latter part of the eighteenth century, can have no significance except as regards the modern Eastern Church.'[1]

[1] *A Critical Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed*, by G. D. W. Ommanney, M.A., pp. 457-58.

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In most of the reformed Churches the use of it has died out. It is contained in the Irish Prayer Book, but is not directed to be used. It is omitted from the American Prayer Book.

VIII.

We have now to return to the two questions of the authority and the value of the *Quicunque*. As to its authority it must be clearly laid down that in no real sense of the word is it a Catholic Creed. In the sense, of course, of being an exposition or Confession of Faith, it may be called in conventional language a Creed; but then it will share that position with a large number of confessions of faith which have existed in the Christian Church. But the Athanasian Creed has never been accepted as a Creed in the Eastern Church, and has had only the acceptance of usage in the Western. It is, in fact, part of the historical heritage of the Western Church. The use of it in public services has varied at different times in different ways. In its origin it is very similar to the *Te Deum*. Like the *Te Deum* it is a hymn of the Faith; like the *Te Deum* its usage has spread because it was admirably suited for the work of the Church. Unlike the *Te Deum*, it has never received universal acceptance; the *Te Deum*, although never claiming to be a creed, is the great hymn of praise of all branches of the Church. Although Western in origin, it is accepted by the Eastern Church, and probably more than any other document helps to substantiate the real unity of Christendom. The acceptance of the Athanasian Creed has never been more than partial, and the use of it must depend not on authority, but on its value. Whatever course may be wisest, any particular branch of the Christian Church may decide for itself either to continue the use in its services or to omit it. Its position in our Articles gives its exposition of the Faith authority for us, but it would be within the right of the English Church to omit it from its Articles, which are recognized to be only Articles of Union and not an authoritative exposition of the Faith.

In fact, we may go so far as to say that if we put the

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Athanasian Creed forward as a necessary document of the Christian Church and as an oecumenical Creed we are in danger of violating the rule of the Church which forbids us to put forward any Creed except that which has the authority of the General Councils. The so-called Nicene Creed in its uninterpolated form is the only document which may in itself be rightly described as an oecumenical Creed, and to consider the Athanasian as of equal authority with that Creed is to violate rather than support Catholic tradition. The special insistence on the Athanasian Creed is a sign of the insularity rather than the catholicity of the English Church.

The position of the Athanasian Creed in the services of the Church must be justified by its value. There can be no doubt that, as an exposition of the Faith, it sums up in an admirable way the Augustinian theology; but it must be recognized that the language about the Procession is such as the Eastern Church finds it necessary to alter, while the language of the Creed generally has a Western rather than an Eastern sound. The passages, too, which it has been customary to call the 'damnatory,' and which it is more common now to call the 'warning' clauses, raise a further problem. There are no two doctrines which it is more important should be impressed upon our minds at the present day than the reality of the Divine judgement and the necessity of a right belief. Both these doctrines are asserted in the Athanasian Creed, but it is a very solemn question whether or no they are asserted in the manner most likely at the present day to win assent. We wish, above all things, to impress upon people the truth of the statement that God will judge the world, and that men must give account for their works. There is much in modern thought which makes the belief unacceptable. Are we quite sure that the form in which it is put in the Athanasian Creed does not, on the whole, foster this unbelief? To the ordinary reader it appears as if it stated that a man who does not believe in one of the more obscure propositions of the Creed cannot be saved. Those of us who have thought about the question can accept the

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language in an historical sense, and can explain it as, for example, Waterland does:

'*This is the Catholic Faith, which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.*

'This is to be understood, like all other such general propositions, with proper reserves and qualifying constructions. As, for instance, if, after laying down a system of Christian morality, it be said, *This is the Christian practice, which except a man faithfully observe and follow, he cannot be saved*, it would be no more than right and just thus to say: But no one could be supposed hereby to exclude any such merciful abatements or allowances as shall be made for men's particular circumstances, weaknesses, frailties, ignorance, inability, or the like; or for their sincere intentions, and honest desire of knowing and doing the whole will of God; accompanied with a general repentance of their sins, and a firm reliance upon God's mercy, through the sole merits of Christ Jesus. There can be no doubt, however, but that men are accountable for their Faith, as well as for their practice; and especially if they take upon them to instruct and direct others, trusting to their own strength and parts, against the united judgment and verdict of whole Churches, ancient and modern.'[1]

This explanation is entirely valid, and it takes away any unreality or insincerity on the part of the clergy who are willing to subscribe to the Creed; but is it right to put forward for the acceptance of the ordinary uneducated Churchman a document which requires such an explanation? If we only contrast the Athanasian Creed with the wise reticence of the 'Nicene,' we shall see the difference. That Creed tells us that our Lord Jesus Christ shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead, that His kingdom shall have no end; in it we say that we look for the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come. Here we have the wise reticence of the oecumenical Creed. It emphasizes the two great facts of judgement and eternal life. It does not know more than we can know. It does not take single expressions of the New Testament without the

[1] *A Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, by Daniel Waterland, D.D., p. 229.

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balance of others. If we were to express our own opinion it would be that the Athanasian Creed has a tendency not to strengthen men's belief in the Divine judgement, but to make them doubt, because it suggests that that judgement is not entirely just.

And in the same way with regard to the importance of a right belief. To thoughtful persons there is nothing more irrational at the present day than the movement for undogmatic Christianity. Undogmatic Christianity is, of course, an absurdity. Christianity can mean nothing else but the modelling of the whole of our life in accordance with religious belief, a religious belief which must be capable of being put forward as doctrine. All historical and practical experience tells us that ultimately what a man believes or what a nation believes is of transcendent importance. A wrong view of the Christian religion or an abnegation of the Christian Faith will always in the end tell, and tell disastrously, upon life. But we would hazard the opinion that the strange prejudice against dogmatic religion arises largely from the fact that people consider that the (to them) obscure expressions of the Athanasian Creed are what is meant by dogmatic religion.

In a speech at a meeting of the English Church Union, Canon Newbolt alluded to this question:

'What, then, do these clauses mean? Surely they do not mean that every soul at the Last Day will have to give a strict account of his adhesion to terms such as "incomprehensible," "substance," "Person," and the like, which perhaps he does not understand, nor to statements of extreme difficulty, such as the Double Procession of the Holy Ghost, which the Eastern Church rejects as wrong in terms, and as vitiated by its history in the Western Church, but not wrong perhaps in essential doctrine with explanations. Surely we are not to understand that we must literally, actually, and intelligently be able to express our belief in the terms of the Creed as a condition of entering Heaven. Do not these stern clauses rather mean that, the road of salvation being so difficult, it does most emphatically concern us to take the right road? "Believe, and thou shalt be saved" is a practical working rule for our everyday life.'

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Now Canon Newbolt's explanation is one which we all give ourselves; but it is not the *prima facie* meaning of the words. The ordinary person who reads the Creed gets the impression that it means exactly what it seems to say, and he goes away with the idea that dogmatic Christianity means not a grasp of the great principles of the Christian Faith, but an acceptance of a great deal of technical theological language which is hard to understand and appears to have no relation to practical life. We believe that the Athanasian Creed is a stumbling-block to many persons, and that so far from strengthening the hold of the Christian Faith and the principles of Christianity upon the country, it has the reverse effect. We cannot lay the blame for this upon the stupidity or the indifference of our congregations; for it is the duty of the Church so to put forward the message which it has received that it may commend itself most strongly to even the indifferent, and the unlearned, and the uneducated.

We may sum up now the conclusion to which our historical survey has pointed. We believe that the Athanasian Creed is part of the tradition of the Western Church. As an historical document it is of profound interest, as an exposition of the Faith it is of great value; but its very interest as an historical document means that it is couched in the language of the fifth century, and not in that of the nineteenth or twentieth. It has not, like the Nicene Creed, the note of being oecumenical. It has never received any oecumenical sanction. Its usage in the Church services varies in different branches of the Catholic Church, and may quite well be varied in accordance with the circumstances of the time and national needs. The use of the Creed is the natural result of the historical position of the Church of England. To be induced by the historical position of the Church of England to insist upon its necessity would be a sign not that we were catholic, but that we confused what was of great historical interest with what was really of catholic authority. The well-known maxim of St. Vincent cannot in any circumstances apply to the Athanasian Creed.

We understand that this question will be discussed by the bishops in the coming Lambeth Conference, and it is,

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therefore, wise to consider what practical course should be recommended. Let us be quite clear that no re-translation or re-editing is of the very slightest value. That something might be done in this way was an opinion which arose from an imperfect acquaintance with the history of the text. There can be no doubt that in every essential point our English translation of the Creed represents what the Athanasian Creed was in its original form, and gives exactly the meaning that its authors intended it to have. We have also very grave doubt whether any process of mutilation is desirable. It is said that the anathemas have been taken off the original Nicene Creed. That is not true, as Mr. Turner points out. The real position is that the original Nicene Creed still remains as the authoritative doctrine of the Church, but for use in its services we have another Creed which never had any anathema attached to it at all. We do not ourselves believe in mutilating any historical document; on the other hand, we do not believe that use of the Athanasian Creed in the services of the Church should continue as at present. The matter is one which requires grave and anxious thought, and we hope that what we have written may suggest that it is one which can be approached on all sides in a spirit of loyalty to catholic tradition, and that there is no disloyalty in attempting to adapt our forms of worship to the different phases of thought of the centuries as they pass on.[1]

[1] Since the above was written we have received a copy of the Bishop of Edinburgh's new work [*Further Studies in the Prayer Book.* By John Dowden, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh. London: Methuen, 1908]. The opinion of so sound a liturgiologist and Churchman must be of great value on such a subject as this. He writes:

'As you know, I think the Athanasian Creed, as it now stands in the Prayer-Book, is in a high degree ill-suited for use in the large and miscellaneous gatherings that crowd our churches on the great festivals. Indeed, for a large proportion of our own people it is difficult to understand how the *Quicunque*, in its present form, can be other than misleading; and I should hail with satisfaction the adoption by our Church in Provincial Synod of any wisely devised plan (I am not wholly wedded to any particular plan) for the mitigation or removal of the scandal and offence now caused to many devout believers by its use.'

The whole paper from which this extract is taken is of very great interest.

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ART. IV.—THE BRETHREN OF THE LORD.

1. *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.* A revised Text with Introduction, Notes and Dissertations. II. '*The Brethren of the Lord.*' By the late J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., Bishop of Durham. Tenth Edition. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1890.)
2. *The Epistle of St. James.* The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Comments. By JOSEPH B. MAYOR, LITT.D. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1892.)
3. *The Epistle of St. James*, with an Introduction and Notes. By R. J. KNOWLING, D.D. 'Westminster Commentaries.' (London: Methuen & Co., 1904.)
4. *James the Lord's Brother.* By W. PATRICK, D.D. Principal, Manitoba College, Winnipeg. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906.)
5. *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation.* By CHARLES GORE, M.A., Canon of Westminster, of the Community of the Resurrection, Radley (now Bishop of Birmingham). Second Edition. (London: John Murray, 1896.)
6. *Encyclopaedia Biblica.* Edited by T. K. CHEYNE, D.D., and J. S. BLACK, LL.D. Four volumes. Articles: 'Clopas,' 'James,' 'Simon,' etc. (London: A. & C. Black, 1899–1903.)
7. *A Dictionary of the Bible.* Edited by J. HASTINGS, D.D. Five Volumes. Article: 'Brethren of the Lord,' etc. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898–1904.)

And many other works.

I.

IN the study of this problem three questions offer themselves for solution—the nature of the relationship between the Brethren and the Lord; the identity of the men comprised in the title; and last, though probably anterior to these as a subject of inquiry, the existence of the virginal ideal as a state of life in the early Church. All of these subjects might well engage our attention. It would be a pleasant

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task to draw a sketch of the family circle at Nazareth; to gather together in one picture the various groups of men and women who in the freedom of home life and the intimacy of kinship were permitted to see the King in His beauty, and to know the Son of Man in the sunny brightness of His boyhood and joyousness of youth, before the storm clouds began to gather or His brow became shadowed by the daily burden-bearing which was destined to mask His comeliness and to stamp Him for all time as the Man of Sorrows and acquainted with grief.

Of no less absorbing interest would be an effort to trace the rise and growth of the ascetic ideal in the early Church. It is like the grain of mustard seed of the parable, so small in itself as we discover it hidden away in the unobtrusive simplicity of our Lord's own life and teaching; yet steadily growing and increasing until it becomes a great tree, wherein the birds of the air have lodged, and under whose branches men and women of all ages have been glad to seek the cool shade. And how subtle was its growth and unpromising the soil in which it grew! We would gladly hear the story of its development, and have an answer to the many questions which crowd in upon us with regard to it. Whence, for instance, was enkindled the kindred flame of consecrated widowhood? At a time when the religious atmosphere was vibrating sensibly with expectation of the Messiah, and devout women like Elisabeth—even after the flower of their age—were feeling with an intensity of bitter anguish the burden of their barrenness, how did it come about that one scarce more than a child[1] in years should find in the shattering of her youthful hopes only an inspiration to a life-long dedication, and through the heroic faith of an unfaltering consecration should be found at the close of fourscore years still full of praise and glad expectancy?

Or, again, we know that Origen thought it 'reasonable that as Jesus was the first fruit of purity and chastity among men, so Mary was among women; for it is not seemly,' he says, 'to ascribe the first fruit of virginity to any other

[1] St. Luke, ii. 37.

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woman but her.'[1] And we would like to know whether in so speaking he was, as Bishop Lightfoot denied,[2] merely giving sympathetic utterance to an apocryphal fancy, or whether from the basis of a well accredited fact he was tentatively eliciting, with characteristic suggestiveness, the spiritual significance of Blessed Mary's vocation.

Nor could we regard the simple question of relationship as a subject of barren inquiry. On the contrary, it bears in its bosom questions of deep interest, and would take us to the very heart of the life of the early Church. A flood of light would be thrown, in all probability, on the condition of the infant society could we ascertain how it arose that, in seeming disregard of the Lord's explicit prohibition[3] and in defiance of the Apostolic injunction,[4] a small circle of men, on the score of kinship with the Lord alone, were held even to the third generation to be worthy of special honour in the Church, and to be the men best fitted—if need were—to stand forth as the accredited champions of the Faith.[5]

Limitation of space, however, demands that we should restrict ourselves to one branch of the subject, and in the following pages we propose to deal solely with the question of relationship, pure and simple, and shall touch the collateral subjects only incidentally and as occasion requires.

This problem of relationship is sometimes stated as a choice between three degrees of kinship, full brothers, half-brothers, and cousins,[6] as the men are reckoned to be the sons of Joseph and Mary, of Joseph and a former wife, or of Mary the wife of Cleopas. But this manifestly is a hazardous way of putting it, and one liable to grave misconception.

We have already discussed in a former article[7] the doctrine of the Virgin-Birth of our Lord, and we propose here to assume the results there arrived at. From these it would follow that ties of consanguinity in our Lord's case

[1] Origen *in Matt.* Tom. x. c. 17. *Opera* ed. Lommatsch. iii. 46.
[2] *Galatians*, p. 281, note. [3] St. Mark, iii. 33. [4] 2 Cor. v. 16.
[5] Hegesippus *ap.* Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 20.
[6] So Professor McGiffert on Euseb. *H.E.* (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*), p. 99, note 14.
[7] *C.Q.R.* October 1904.

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could be derived through His mother alone, and consequently that His nearest relatives would be either half-brothers or cousins. Thus, in the enumeration above, the first *title* needs to be eliminated altogether; and the second *relationship*, used to designate the children of Joseph by a former wife, should be transferred to a class by itself, as belonging to a different category of facts. The choice will then lie between half-brothers or cousins, on the one hand, and a relationship of close association but no actual kinship on the other. We propose to pass in review the claim put forward on behalf of these three degrees of relationship, taking them in this amended order.

II.

The half-brother—or Helvidian—theory,[1] which maintains that after the Birth of the Saviour His mother entered into wedlock with Joseph and became the mother of a large family, the sons of which were known as the Lord's brethren, has received much support in recent years. We are constrained to say, however, that on examining the pleas advanced in its favour we have found over-confidence of assertion where we looked for new cogency of argument. It is only thus that we can describe the statement that Tertullian is the first who 'distinctly asserts that the brethren were uterine brothers of the Lord'[2]; or the claim made elsewhere, apparently on the strength of this statement, to have *proved* that James, the Lord's brother, was the son of Joseph and Mary.[3]

[1] See Lightfoot, *l.c.*, and St. Jerome's *Treatise adv. Helvidium.*

[2] Hastings, *Dict. Bible*, i. 320. Professor Mayor quite fairly quotes the words on which he bases this assertion. Of the passages cited those from *adv. Marc.* iv. 19 and *De Carne Christi* 7 do no more than emphasize the Biblical statement that the Lord's 'mother and brethren' were actually present at a particular place; the two other passages from *De Monogamia* 8 and *De Virg. Vel.* 6 (*cf.* also *De Carne Christi* 23 etc.) are hardly consistent with a belief in Mary's perpetual virginity. Lightfoot *op. cit.* 278 regards it as 'highly probable' that Tertullian held the Helvidian theory, but with greater caution than Professor Mayor or Dr. Patrick (*James the Lord's Brother*, pp. 12-13) points out that the assumption is not absolutely certain.

[3] *Ibid.* ii. 542.

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And of a like nature is the argument that 'it is consistent with a reverence of a very lofty kind to suppose that all the relations of human life which have been established and hallowed by God were frankly recognised and adopted by the Son of Man when He took our nature upon Him.'[1] Such an argument is little short of astounding to those who remember that self-repression was, without any doubt, one of the characteristic notes of that Life; and that the gifted author of these words was as well aware as ourselves that He 'who had not where to lay His head' deliberately passed by in His personal experience that which has ever been regarded as not only the primary and fundamental, but also the most tender and sacred, of all human relationships.

In the face of such arguments we may safely say that the theory stands where it did when first broached by Helvidius, and relies now as then on certain words of the Bible which, in the opinion of its adherents, need but be taken in their literal sense to put an end to all strife in the matter. They lay stress on the occurrence of the word 'brother,' and assert that in its natural and obvious meaning it points to children of Joseph and Mary. In addition to this they can bring forward incidental expressions which appear to be corroborative of this contention. There is the explicit statement of Joseph's attitude towards the Virgin *until she brought forth a son*, which is said to imply a changed attitude after that event. And in St. Luke's Gospel the Virgin is said to have *brought forth her first-born son* where the choice of the word *firstborn* is held to infer the subsequent birth of other children. And as a general support of these natural inferences, they remind us that in the Gospel narrative we find the brethren 'clinging to Mary in a way we should not expect to find in four step-sons, the youngest of whom must have been over thirty years of age.'[2]

In the annals of warfare we sometimes hear of a small

[1] *The Risen Master*, by (the late) H. Latham (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, 1901), p. 303.

[2] *Ibid.* 305.

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band of resolute men under an intrepid leader carrying a strong position through the sheer force of a splendid irresistible dash; and we are told that the first sensation of the victors upon the issue being decided is that of utter surprise to find themselves in possession, a surprise which deepens into a conviction that their exploit should not have succeeded. The case of the Helvidian theory is something like that. It takes us by surprise and for the moment carries all before it. But such *coups* do not avail in this war, and brilliant assaults melt away under the dry light of criticism. Thus the more carefully and dispassionately the above points, so telling at first sight, are examined, the less capable will they appear of holding the ground which they have seized.

While it is true that the explicit mention of Joseph's attitude towards our Lord's mother, taken as a general statement, implies a changed attitude later (and it must be admitted that the Helvidian theory has gained a fictitious semblance of strength on this point owing to the mistaken and not always happy efforts to dispute this and to explain away the natural force of the words),[1] yet a careful perusal of the paragraph shews that it is far from having the nature of a general statement. The passage is best regarded as a memorandum[2] in the handwriting of Joseph penned expressly for a double purpose. In the first place it preserves an independent testimony to the Virgin's story. It declares that throughout the whole period of the mystery Joseph scrupulously reverenced the Virgin as an instrument in the hands of God.[3] And secondly, there is emphatic pro-

[1] Professor Mayor, with some justice, is very severe on the cases of supposed parallelism brought forward by Bishop Pearson. But he should have stopped there, for his own venture at illustration is no happier. Obviously the statement that 'the debate was adjourned till the papers should be in the hands of the members' carries the inference he suggests, as would any other such general proposition. But we deny that this is a statement of that nature.

[2] Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 28.

[3] Dr. Plummer (*Gospel of St. Luke*, ii. 7), following Professor Mayor, is inclined to attach importance to the use of the imperfect tense, ἐγίνωσκεν (St. Matt. i. 25); but we are unable to agree with him. The imperfect was

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testation that in co-operating with the Child's mother to keep the supernatural birth a close secret, and in safeguarding this secret and the Virgin's fair name by adopting her Child, and claiming it legally for his own, Joseph equally with Mary was acting in strict obedience to the revealed will of God. This latter point, though an integral part of the statement, is invariably ignored by those who press the earlier part to further the significance of their general proposition.[1]

So again with the occurrence of the word *firstborn*.[2] It cannot be disputed that St. Luke is carefully fashioning his language on the model of the Old Testament,[3] and in this particular passage is adhering closely to highly technical phraseology. It is therefore unsafe to base any argument on the use of a word with a precise liturgical value, and to adduce it as evidence of numerical quantity.[4]

Nor can any conclusion be drawn from the fact that the brethren are found on several occasions in close association

necessary to convey the meaning given above, which the context requires. The aorist would have favoured the Helvidian theory. It would have implied a definite abstention on the part of Joseph for a single occasion, viz. the Incarnation, and so have strengthened the inference which they wish to draw from the phrase 'until . . .'

[1] St. Matt. i. 24, 25. *παρέλαβεν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν . . . καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν.*

[2] St. Luke, ii. 7.

[3] See Dr. Plummer *in loc.*, and esp. Lightfoot *op. cit.* p. 271, and note Westcott and Hort's *Greek Test.*, with the uncials in correlative passage, ii. 22–25.

[4] Dr. Plummer, while allowing that 'the expression might certainly be used without implying that there had been subsequent children,' remarks that it also implies the possibility of subsequent children, and asks whether St. Luke would have used the word after this possibility had been decided and Mary had had no other child. Such a question, however, from so acute a critic is surprising. It ignores the chief characteristic of this narrative, and assumes that St. Luke would substitute a statistical detail for a picturesque touch, *cf.* ii. 23. Professor Schmiedel (*Ency. Bibl. s.v.* 'Clopas') states his own view with characteristic determination. 'Lastly, it is idle to deny the existence of actual "brethren of Jesus": that is distinctly vouched for by the *πρωτότοκον* of Luke 2[7]—an expression all the weightier because it has been already suppressed in Matt. i. 25' (!)

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with our Lord's mother. If we grant what is doubtful,[1] that the Evangelists in the passages cited meant so to associate them, the circumstances are sufficient to explain their purpose, two of the occasions being just those domestic events[2]—a wedding and a death—which all the world over draw the members of a family even in its outer circles together by a natural impulse of affection, and the third one of special anxiety, the true import of which we shall examine later.

Now it is on these scriptural statements alone that the half-brother theory rests its case. And even allowing for the cumulative force of undesigned corroboration which the scattered allusions provide, the foundation on which it stands will be admitted to be perilously insecure. But the edifice collapses, as we hold, when the objections contained in the same Scriptures are brought to bear against it, including as these do allusions equally incidental, and plain statements of fact inconsistent with it. St. Matthew, in his account of the Return from Egypt, says that Joseph 'took the young child and his mother,' using the same words as in describing the Flight from Bethlehem. But, according to the approved chronology of this period,[3] a space of time has elapsed in which the Helvidian theory would require at least one child to have been born to Mary and Joseph. So with St. Luke's account of the Ascent to Jerusalem. We have the same self-contained group of three—Mary

[1] St. John never associates the brethren with the Virgin. At Cana they are present in the house and 'Jesus and his disciples are called.' But when they leave, St. John as usual speaks of the company in pairs, but he transposes them and adds, 'He and his Mother, and the brethren and his disciples.' St. John ii. 12. The distinction made by St. Luke after the death of our Lord is likewise noteworthy. The Virgin is mentioned with the women, and the brethren apart by themselves, 'With the women and Mary, the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren.' Acts i. 14. In other words, St. Luke regarded the Lord as the bond between them and His Mother, and not the Virgin between Him and them as their common mother. And, He being removed, the association is modified.

[2] St. John ii. 12; Acts i. 14.

[3] Hastings, *Dict. s. v.* 'Chronology,' by C. H. Turner, i. 405 ff.

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and her Child and Joseph—forming the family circle by themselves. And, further, we are told that Mary has made the journey habitually each year during her residence at Nazareth.[1] This was a spontaneous act of devotion on her part, and may we not ask whether a journey of twice eighty miles could be made at a specific date annually by a woman who was fulfilling the functions of motherhood to a large and increasing family ?

The last instance occurs in the Apocalypse, and is of a different order. There we have a highly allegorical picture of the mystery of the Incarnation :—

'A great sign was seen in heaven ; a woman arrayed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars ; and she was with child . . . and she was delivered of a son, a man child, who is to rule all the nations with a rod of iron : and her child was caught up unto God, and unto his throne. And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that there they may nourish her a thousand two hundred and threescore days.' [2]

Figurative language such as this is, of course, useless as evidence for any fact connected with the mystery. But is it credible that the author could have so written of the Lord's mother [3] if he knew that this childbearing of Mary had been no more to her than the first joy of motherhood, after which she had felt herself free to surrender herself to the common lot of women and had become the mother of a family, the members of which were conspicuous in the circle with which the writer was acquainted ? However, be the force of these incidental allusions, for and against the theory, what they may, there are two objections which are forced on our notice in Scripture which are fatal to its acceptance.

The former of these will be more opportunely dealt with in the last section of this article. Here it will suffice to say that the general impression made on the reader of the New Testament is that these brethren were undoubtedly

[1] See Plummer *in loc.* [2] Rev. xii. 1-6.
[3] *Cf.* Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 9, and Swete, *Apocalypse, ad loc.*

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senior in age to our Lord. If this impression can be shewn—as we shall endeavour to shew it—to be a true one, it would be subversive of the theory.

The latter is the fact which Bishop Lightfoot described as an 'objection hurled at the Helvidian theory with great force . . . and fatal effect.' It is the commendation of Blessed Mary to the beloved disciple, and the objection lies in the inability to conceive that 'Our Lord would thus have snapped asunder the most sacred ties of natural affection,' or would have allowed their prevailing unbelief in His Messianic claims 'to over-ride the paramount duties of filial piety.' These words were written more than thirty years ago and no adequate reply to them has yet been found.[1]

Explanations indeed have been offered with a view to weakening the crushing effect of the blow, but have proved singularly powerless to do so. The supporters of the theory either miss the force of the argument or proffer explanations which will not stand scrutiny. They endeavour to shew the *expediency* of an action the permissibility of which is denied, and they suggest contingencies which involve them in glaring inconsistency. It is urged, for instance, that the brethren may have been all married and scattered in their several homes; yet as to but a few months before their continued and close adherence to the Lord's mother was alleged as evidence of a relationship nothing short of filial and uterine.[2] Then it is argued that the home of the celibate St. John might prove a more congenial retreat than a busy house alive with the daily prattle and cares of grandchildren. But this does not accord with the known facts. Leaving aside the change of front made by the upholders of a theory originally put forward to reinstate the beauty and sanctity of home life, in contradistinction to the evils of celibacy, it is only necessary to remind the reader that the man most prominent in the early Church for his ascetical life, residence hard by the Temple, and assiduity in devotional attendance at its worship, was no other than James, the very man who is now maintained to

[1] *Galatians*, p. 272. [2] *supra*, p. 75.

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be Blessed Mary's eldest surviving son.[1] On a review therefore of the Scriptural evidence, we conclude that this half-brother theory fails entirely to make out a case for itself. Its claim to be an explanation most consonant with the evangelical narrative is seen to be superficial and plausible only and unable to withstand scrutiny. On the contrary, judged by the tests to which itself appeals, it is found to be incompatible with at least one definite statement of Scripture, and at variance with a critical and discriminating interpretation of others.

We will not stay here to examine its origin as a theory,[2] nor lay stress on the fact that it appears for the first time in the fourth century frankly as a controversial weapon to undermine the reverence paid to the Blessed Virgin and the esteem for the celibate state. But we cannot leave the subject without venturing at least to express a hope that in future the defenders of this theory will be at some pains to be more cautious in their statements and more generous in their judgement. It conduces nothing to the amenities of discussion nor to the elucidation of truth to accuse those who differ from oneself of being guilty of 'a contumacious setting up of an artificial tradition above the written Word.'[3] And when such a sweeping condemnation is known to include names pre-eminent for the furtherance of our Biblical knowledge—such as Lightfoot,[4] Westcott,[5] and Hort,[6] the present Bishop of Birmingham[7] and Canon Liddon[8]—the charge becomes little short of ludicrous.

[1] Dr. Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*) accepts the account of St. James' asceticism, saying that it does not involve any anachronism, pp. 152, 153. Cf. Euseb. *Hist.* ii. 23.

[2] Helvidius, apparently, did not make any serious claim to antiquity. He was the mouthpiece of a natural revolt against incipient Mariolatry and a growing slight of married life.

[3] Hastings, *Dict.* i. 325. [4] *L.c.* p. 272. [5] *Gospel of St. John*, ii. 12

[6] *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 148. 'He who was known as the Lord's brother' implies this preference.

[7] *Dissertations*, p. 13, note. But the Bishop not quite accurately calls it half-brother relationship.

[8] Canon Liddon assumes the cousin relationship to be the truth, *Bampton Lectures*, 9th ed. p. 292; *Christmastide Sermons*, p. 371; but he refers with sympathy to Epiphanius in note.

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III.

As is well known, it was in refutation of this half-brother explanation that St. Jerome formulated his theory of cousinship on the mother's side. Briefly, the following was the process whereby, with much ingenuity and elaboration of Biblical knowledge, he built up his picturesque edifice.[1]

Among the women present at the Crucifixion the writer of the Fourth Gospel introduces 'Mary, the wife of Cleopas,' as a sister of the Blessed Virgin; and comparison with the Synoptic narratives shews her to be identified with Mary, the mother of James the Less and Joseph.[2]

This James the Less must be the man described as James the son of Alphaeus among the twelve Apostles. Hence for some reason or other the husband of Mary was known indifferently by two names, Cleopas or Alphaeus, and two of their children—James and Jude—were Apostles.

But, it is argued, in his epistle to the Galatians[3] St. Paul indicates that James the Lord's brother was an Apostle, and, as the only member possible was James, the son of Alphaeus, we see that he is also a son of Mary of Cleopas, the sister of the Virgin, and consequently the cousin of the Lord.

The fact that James and the other sons of Mary are called the Lord's *brethren* caused St. Jerome no disquietude, for he was able to shew that the word 'brother' is capable of a very wide interpretation in Biblical phraseology,[4] including spiritual no less than physical relationships. And just as Helvidius rejoiced in the fact that his theory overthrew the perpetual virginity of the Lord's mother, so St. Jerome retaliated with what he claimed to be a vindication of the virginity not only of the Lord's mother, but of Joseph, his foster-father, too.

This theory, through St. Augustine and others, laid

[1] Cf. Lightfoot, *l.c.*, for a summary of the theory. The treatise *Against Helvidius* is translated in vol. vi. of *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*.

[2] St. John xix. 25; St. Mark xv. 40; St. Matt. xxvii. 56.

[3] Galatians i. 19.

[4] 'Natura, gente, cognatione, affectu.' *Opera*, ed. Vallarsi, ii. 220.

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hold of the imagination of the Western Church and became recognized as the orthodox explanation of the problem. It is still the theory most in favour with many whose lives are conspicuous for saintliness and spiritual insight in the deep things of God. We feel therefore that it cannot receive too reverent a treatment at our hands, and it is with much diffidence that we oppose them by arguing against it. Yet for all that the arguments in its favour seem to us to fail at all crucial points. The starting-point is an illusory one, having in all probability no existence in fact. We think that there can be little doubt as to the preferableness of the modern interpretation of St. John's words, which sees four women in two pairs in his description of the scene at Calvary, the Virgin's sister being thus Salome, the writer's own mother. Again we are convinced that St. John's statements as to the unbelief of the Lord's brethren are too explicit,[1] and find too clear corroboration in the Synoptic narrative to allow of their inclusion in the Apostolic circle.[2] Moreover, St. Paul's reference to James is susceptible of an interpretation which does not necessitate his inclusion among the original twelve.[3] Nor will St. Jerome's method of dealing with the question of nomenclature commend itself to many. Both St. Luke and St. Paul refer to James as the Lord's *brother* in far too precise and natural a manner to justify our ascribing such a meaning to the word.[4] And since they were men of culture, thoroughly conversant with the Greek language,[5] it is wholly beside the mark to argue from the

[1] St. John vii. 1–9.

[2] See below, p. 86 ff.

[3] Cf. Lightfoot *in loc.*

[4] Especially as they had the word ἀνέψιος ready to their hand and did actually use it. Col. iv. 10.

[5] This point, which distinguishes them from the Galilean neighbours at Nazareth, is all important. As a matter of fact, the ambiguity of the meaning of the word needs to be kept in mind in studying the Synoptic narrative, not because of arguments used by St. Jerome, but of contemporary linguistic limitations. The Aramaic vernacular used at Nazareth had no word to express brother, but included a much wider relationship and certainly covers cousinship. For this reason we have made no reference to St. Matt. xiii. 55, 56, St. Mark vi. 3–5. For a very interesting and useful explanation of this linguistic question see an article by 'E. T. B.' in *The Guardian* of June 7, 1899.

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varied use of the title in other parts of the Divine Library. And, finally, there is nothing in the above argument to overcome our natural disinclination to believe that two sisters could have been popularly known by the common name of Mary.

Thus in common with its antagonist this theory fails on its own ground to make good its claim. And equally with that there is a telling fact against it; but whereas the blow in the former case was delivered by a writer in the New Testament, here it comes from the pages of ecclesiastical history.

The writer Hegesippus has frequent allusions to the relatives of the Lord, among which the following two short statements will suffice for our present purpose:

'James, the brother of the Lord, succeeded to the government of the Church in conjunction with the Apostles.[1] . . . After James the Just had suffered martyrdom, as the Lord had also on the same account, Simeon, the son of the Lord's uncle Cleopas, was appointed next bishop. All proposed him as second bishop because he was a cousin of the Lord.'[2]

In the concluding section of this article we shall deal at some length with the nature and value of the testimony of this writer, but at present we are concerned only with the distinction which is drawn in the above quotations between James, who is styled the Lord's *brother*, and Simeon, who is called his *cousin*. It is clear that such a distinction is incompatible with St. Jerome's theory. If Hegesippus was not using inaccurate information in drawing this distinction, then the cousin theory as an explanation of the title 'brethren' is disposed of.

But perhaps an argument as strong as any against the theory is the later attitude of the author himself towards it. Let the reader arrange in chronological order[3] what St. Jerome says on the matter, and he will find evidence of a mind driven from its original position reluctantly to take up new ground which has little attraction for it. And

[1] Euseb. *Hist.* ii. 23. [2] *Ibid.* iv. 22.

[3] *Adv. Helv.* (A.D. 383); *Comment in Matt.*; *De Viris Illustr.*; *Ep. ad Hedib.* Cf. *Dict. Chr. Biog.* sub nom. 'Hieronymus.'

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let him remember that during this time St. Jerome was enjoying close and intimate friendship with Epiphanius, the champion of the orthodox explanation; that he cherished a very high esteem for the work of Eusebius which contained the words of Hegesippus quoted above; and, lastly, that he was sojourning in the Holy Land, where he had special means of becoming acquainted with the reliability of the traditional account; and the change will be seen to be as significant as, to our mind, it was inevitable.

It is a striking tribute to St. Jerome's influence in the Church and to the passionate devotion to the celibate life prevalent in his day that a theory so full of doubtful exegesis and tacitly abandoned, or at most hesitatingly maintained by himself, should have gained for itself such universal popularity in the Western Church.

IV.

There remains for consideration the further alternative explanation which reckons the brethren to have been the sons of Joseph by a former wife. In this case, it must be admitted, no bond of blood relationship, strictly speaking, nearer than that of common lineage would subsist between them and the Lord. And many have brushed it aside with some impatience on this account as giving an artificial meaning to the word 'brethren.' Yet the theory deserves careful consideration, and can only be refused a hearing by deliberately ignoring the abnormal conditions with which we have to deal.[1] The Divine economy of the Incarnation involved on the part of Joseph the assumption of responsibility of the parentage of the Virgin's Son, so that he was commonly called the Child's father. And this language of accommodation was so generally accepted that the Virgin herself did not

[1] 'We insist,' it has been said, 'that brother must mean not brother but either cousin or one who is no blood relation at all.' But the question arises, How would the author of these words meet the man who argues against the Virgin Birth? Would he not have to admit that in reading St. Luke ii. he uses the word 'father' meaning, not father, but one who is no blood relation at all to the Lord?

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hesitate to adopt it, and ecclesiastical writers long afterwards, even when the true nature of the miraculous conception had become a matter of common knowledge, still allowed themselves the convenience of the title. But this being the case, it becomes clear that relationship through Joseph would count as real as that derived through our Lord's mother. If therefore, as a matter of fact, there were sons of Joseph living at the time of our Lord's Birth, these could not have been designated by any other term than His brethren.

If now we turn to the New Testament to ascertain what countenance we can find there for the theory, we shall do so with a recognition that from the nature of the case only indirect support can be forthcoming. Should we find, however, that the narrative suggests that the brethren were older than our Lord, or that the Virgin had relatives of her own for whom both she and her Son manifested warmer affection than for these men, we may fairly regard these intimations as testimony strongly corroborative of the explanation. But this is just what the Apostolic writings do convey to us. We believe that an unbiased study of the New Testament leads to the conclusion that the brethren were senior in age to the Lord; and that at the time of the Crucifixion the sons of Zebedee were the Virgin's nearest kinsmen. The limitations of our space will not allow us to deal with the former of these questions so adequately as we would wish. We can but touch briefly on some of the reasons which in our judgement point to this conclusion.

1. The attitude of the brethren to our Lord is that of elders towards a younger. There are two incidents in the Gospel narrative which throw light upon this, and as the one of them occurs in the Synoptic writers and the other in the Fourth Gospel, and as, moreover, the circumstances are very dissimilar, the fact that both alike manifest the same temper on the part of the brethren gives special value to their testimony on this point.

We read in St. Mark's Gospel that 'There came then his brethren and his mother, and standing without they sent unto him calling him.'[1] The tone of authority is unmis-

[1] St. Mark iii. 31. There is fair authority for the reading adopted

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takeable. The brethren put themselves forward as claiming, in a measure, parental authority over Him. And the more carefully the whole episode with the surrounding circumstances is studied,[1] the more apparent does this attitude of domineering interference become. It is only an uncritical amiability which can see in their behaviour an instance of affectionate solicitude.[2]

In the other incident, which occurs more than a year later, the tone of authority is more emphatic and the impression made on the reader is more unfavourable. And we think that St. John in narrating it meant to preserve a record of this special trait of trial on the Lord's part.

'His brethren, therefore, said unto Him "Depart hence and go into Judæa that thy disciples also may behold thy works which thou doest. . . . If thou doest these things manifest thyself to the world." For even his brethren did not believe in him. Jesus therefore said unto them, "My time is not yet come, but your time is alway ready. The world cannot hate you, but me it hateth, because I testify of it, that its works are evil."'[3]

Whatever may be said of the earlier incident, here their attitude is seen to be definitely hostile; and it is trifling with the Evangelist's words to see in them a precautionary effort on the brothers' part to dictate the measures our Lord should adopt in 'going up to the feast.'[4] As a matter of fact, the brethren here display a reckless disregard of His welfare and are ready to thrust Him into a perilous position. The constant friction between Him and the ecclesiastical

(see Swete, *in loc.*), and its correction into the form 'His Mother and brethren' could be so easily explained that we think it ought to be retained. If correct, it strengthens the argument used above as making the brethren the instigators of this interference.

[1] Cf. Swete, *Gospel of St. Mark*, *in loc.*, and see parallel passage in Synoptists. It is the first occasion on which the authorities take official cognisance of the Lord's doings and teaching. An anticipation on a small field of the final conflict at Jerusalem.

[2] 'He is mad,' is still the selfish, unsympathetic, and irritated expression with which worldly people, especially peasant folk, sum up the ways of a member of the family who is bringing them into unpleasant and unpopular notoriety.

[3] St. John vii. 1-7.

[4] So Mayor, *ubi supra*, p. 324.

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authorities appears to be becoming too severe a strain on their affection, and they are at a loss to understand His diffidence. So they would goad Him into decided action by taunts at His inconsistent conduct: so brave in Galilee, yet so timid and deferential in Judæa.

Our Lord's attitude in each case endorses this view of their conduct. His answer in the former case is softened by no qualification as at Cana,[1] and in the latter there is a note of severity and personal pain. His reply to the brethren recalls His vehement denunciation of Peter when he made himself the mouthpiece of Satan. Now these *men of his own household* have ranged themselves on the side of the world-power, and in their selfish ignorance would hurry Him all too soon to challenge that world's reward of hate.

2. The two canonical Epistles ascribed to the brethren James and Jude raise literary problems which point in the same direction.[2] It would go some little way to answer these problems, and to explain the intensely Judaistic tone of their teaching and dissimilarity to all the other Apostolic writings, if we could see in them evidence of the fact that they were already full-grown men when they accepted the Messianic claim of the Lord and were now only able to superadd the Christian doctrine to the Judaic, and this the more imperfectly because all through the years of their mental development they had at every stage accepted the

[1] It appears to have been conclusive for the Blessed Virgin, for we do not hear of her again in company of the brethren, until they after the Crucifixion are included in the company from which they tried to detach Him.

[2] Dr. Bigg (*Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*, pp. 315 *ff*) accepts the view of Clement of Alexandria, following the very ancient tradition embodied in the *Protevangelium* of James, that Jude was a son of Joseph by a former marriage, and therefore older than our Lord. He considers that this view is commended not only by the peculiar form of Jude's address, but by the assumption of authority referred to above. He thinks it probable that neither Jude nor James used the title 'brother of the Lord' themselves, though it was freely given to them by the Church. Professor Mayor (*The Epistle of Jude and II. Peter*) maintains the same view as elsewhere.

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popular prejudice as sufficient answer to each truth in detail.[1]

3. This seniority in years would go far to explain the pre-eminent position so readily and generally accorded to James, the Lord's brother, after his conversion. If on the death of Joseph he had acted as the Virgin's ally and had held an authoritative position in the Nazareth home, it would be quite natural for the Apostolic band to concede to him the first place and to regard him as the father of the Christian family.

4. The most natural interpretation to give to St. Luke's phrase 'Jude of James' in describing the identity of the youngest of the Apostles is to read it as referring to *Jude, son of James, the Lord's brother.*[2] This could well be the case if James were some fifteen or even twelve years older than the Lord.

Before leaving this question it is necessary to write a word of protest against a form of argument which conflicts with the general impression conveyed by the language of Scripture, and which we consider to be entirely out of place and fallacious. It has been urged that *younger* brothers might well regard the Lord as a self-forgetting idealist and enthusiast, wanting in knowledge of the world and needing the constant care of his more practical friends to provide him with the ordinary comforts and necessaries of life. That such a heartwhole devotion to one supreme purpose as our Lord gave to His mission on earth would among average men undoubtedly develop such a tendency as this will be readily allowed by all. But this absent-minded disregard of personal welfare would be the outcome of the man's individual limitations and be an element of weakness in his character. It is our general experience simply because

[1] Professor Mayor, in his *Epistle of James*, gives a valuable table o. the relationship of St. James' Epistle to the Sermon on the Mount. His interesting comparison would gain in significance if it were made with the sources of that Sermon rather than the Sermon itself.

[2] St. Luke, except in xxiv. 10, which may well be a slip, always means James, the Lord's brother, where he uses the name without some descriptive title—*e.g.* St. Luke v. 10, vi. 14, 15, viii. 51, ix. 28, 54, Acts xii. 2 on the one hand; and in contrast: S. Luke vi. 16, Acts xii. 17, xv. 13, xxi. 18.

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here is none perfect and all fall short of the glory of true manhood. But it was far otherwise with the Son of Man, in whom the duty of self-respect in its uttermost scope held as strong and necessary a place as obedience to His heavenly Father's will, and love to His brother man. And the evangelical record of His life makes this abundantly clear. There we have a Man singularly wide-awake and clear-sighted in His scrutiny of men and circumstances; reading the signs of the times with no less unerring judgement than He does the hearts of those who approach Him; marvellously alert to grasp all the conditions of a situation at a glance; anticipating with discriminating foresight the needs and the dangers of those dependent upon Him, and as precise, as thoughtful, and considerate in making provision for their safety. For our own part we cannot allow that there is anything in the Scripture narratives to encourage us in believing that younger brothers could have been conscious of superiority in any department of life. And the impression of seniority must, we think, be allowed its full significance.

An autobiographical note in the Fourth Gospel leads us by another route to the same point of view, since the writer hints therein that on the death of the Saviour he was the Virgin's nearest surviving kinsman. A comparison of the story of the Crucifixion in the Synoptists with that of the Fourth Gospel suggests that Salome, the mother of Zebedee's children, was the Virgin's sister, and consequently that the beloved disciple was the Lord's nearest kinsman according to the flesh.[1] We therefore think it highly probable that St. John in recording the commendation of the Virgin to his own filial care has a purpose beyond the preservation of a touching and instructive incident of the sacred Passion. He intentionally—though with all his characteristic reserve—gives us a glimpse into the innermost sanctuary of the Lord's home affections.

[1] That is with his brother James. The fact of James being the elder raises no difficulty to those who accept the veracity of St. John xxi., for they assume that the Lord equally foresaw that James would be the first of the Apostolic band to follow Him. Thus He guarded against another great desolation coming to His mother.

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The Virgin could hardly have escaped serious searchings of heart as to her duty in the future. On the one hand, long association and residence with the household of Joseph would have established a strong claim on her gratitude and affection [1]; while on the other the promptings of her heart might well urge her towards her own kith and kin, who numbered amongst them those who from the first had sympathized most fully and consistently with her Son's life and work and aims. If such was the case, a new light is thrown on the Third Word from the Cross. It is neither an arbitrary desire—such as the Helvidian theory postulates—to sever the mother from her children, the Lord's own brothers and sisters, nor is it an act of affectionate partiality such as popular fancy imagines. It is simply another instance, and that the last, of thoughtful consideration by Him who does all things well. He anticipates His mother's perplexity and removes all scruples by the expression of His own wish. At the same time He overrides the diffidence of the beloved disciple and secures the fulfilment of His purpose by the *mutual* commendation of each to the other.

If, as suggested above, James the Lord's brother had been closely associated with the Virgin in the care of her Son, the Apostle might well consider it due to him—in view of the position which he held in the Church—to place on record how it came about that the Lord's mother did not seek a home with him in Jerusalem. And no one could have done this with greater tact or delicacy of feeling.

V.

Again, when we pursue the inquiry beyond the limits of the New Testament we still find that whatever information can be gleaned tends to strengthen the third theory. We can at present glance only at three considerations specially worthy of attention. These are the traditional belief, the

[1] It has been suggested to the writer that probably Cleopas lived on in the old home at Nazareth after his marriage, but there is no evidence to enable us to decide.

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testimony of Hegesippus, and the devotional aspect of the question.

We will take first the Palestinian tradition. But for the intrusion of St. Jerome's theory in the latter part of the fourth century the value of the traditional belief could hardly have been called in question.[1] It has held uninterrupted sway in the East and is to-day the authoritative explanation of the Eastern Orthodox Church. But in this, as in many other ways, Western Christendom has had to pay the penalty of a too ready reliance on the scholarship and influence of a single master mind. Captivated chiefly by the *éclat* which the 'cousin' theory brought to the monastic ideal, St. Augustine and others readily adopted it, thereby causing the Palestinian tradition to drop out of remembrance. Moreover, the fact that it is especially associated with the name of Epiphanius has seriously prejudiced it in the minds of scholars of our own time, and debarred it from receiving such consideration as it deserves historically. But the original tradition, which did no more than assert that the brethren were sons of Joseph by a former wife, should be carefully distinguished from the Epiphanian presentation of it. While there is much that is cogent and of permanent value in the treatise of Epiphanius we are in no way concerned here with his reputation as an historian or a theologian. All that is of value for our present purpose is abundantly attested by evidence entirely independent of his writings.

And the mere fact that our earliest literary evidence of

[1] Professor Mayor writes rather oddly on this matter. He begins by putting the origin of the Epiphanian theory towards the close of the second century, and recognizes a tradition on the point from then 'till it was unceremoniously driven out of the field by Jerome.' Yet in his next paragraph he says: 'Historical tradition, therefore, on this subject there was properly none when Jerome wrote, any more than there is now. . . .' Hastings' *Dict.* i. p. 324.

In contrast to this the reader may be directed to *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 165 *ff.* Of all men Dr. Hort was the last to spend his brilliant gifts and time in a vain quest, yet some of the best work in that book is the careful enquiry into how Hegesippus came into possession of the Palestinian tradition.

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the tradition is derived from apocryphal sources cannot be regarded as a serious hindrance to its truth. The facts point in the contrary direction. Embellishments and absurd exaggerations can readily grow up around simple statements of fact and pass muster where mere inventiveness would stand self-condemned. And this tradition supplies just the material for such treatment, and the early date of its appearance in literary form discountenances the idea of fabrication. The story of Bishop Serapion and the *Gospel of Peter* favours the probability of its truthfulness.[1] Historically the subject matter of that work must have commended itself to the Bishop, for it was solely on the ground of questionable statements on difficult theological problems, too subtle to be detected on a first perusal, that he removed it from liturgical use in the Church. It is only necessary to refer the reader to the valuable catena of men accepting the tradition, given by Bishop Lightfoot towards the end of his essay, with the explanatory comments accompanying the quotations, to shew how genuine and well sustained and respected the tradition was. And he will then perceive how completely this explanation held undisputed possession of the field right down to the time of St. Jerome's interposition.

The testimony of Hegesippus is no less favourable to the theory, and merits special attention both on account of its early date and of the form which it takes. Since, however, the information thus derived is unsupported elsewhere there is need of caution in accepting it, and we are driven to ask, What value should be attached to Hegesippus as a chronicler? The answer to this question depends in the first place on our estimate of Eusebius. As is well known, our acquaintance with the other is derived solely from him. Thus we are taken a step further back and have to ask the double question, What is the position of Eusebius himself as an historian? and What was his estimate of Hegesippus? Happily the former of these questions need not detain us. We would

[1] Euseb. *Hist.* vi. 12. Serapion says of it: 'We have been able to read it through and we find many things in accordance with the true doctrine of the Saviour, but some things added to that doctrine . . .'

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refer our readers to the full treatment which was given to the subject in a former volume of this Review.[1] Of the scholarship and erudition of Eusebius there can be no question, and his *History* comes to us as the work of a man who had singular means of ascertaining the facts which he wished to relate and used those means to the full, and who comes unstained from the critical trial of his integrity.

And the *History* itself affords ample material for an answer to the latter question. There we find such statements as *the truth called forth many champions*, amongst whom *Hegesippus was well known*; he records *the true tradition of apostolic doctrine in a most simple style*; his information is readily used because *he lived immediately after the Apostles*; because *he gives a most accurate account* of a complicated story; and because he has left a *complete record of his views*. These expressions leave no doubt about the views of Eusebius, and we have indirect evidence of this confidence being well placed. The *Memoirs* of Hegesippus comprised five books, covering apparently the period somewhere after the Ascension down to the Episcopate of Eleutherus at Rome, a space of about a hundred years. It must therefore have covered much ground common to other writers. Now we know that Eusebius loves to quote the original author of his statements so far as he can. Yet his verbal use of these five books would not fill two pages of the *Church Quarterly Review*. This implies that the independently collected information of Hegesippus tallied so well with the researches of Eusebius that he was able to form the above high estimate of his work and to quote him with confidence on any details of fact otherwise unknown to him. This significant point will have much weight with those who consider Eusebius competent to judge critically on a matter of this kind.

When, however, we come to the present view about the merits of this writer, we find the verdict to be far from favourable. Hegesippus is said to have proved himself unmethodical in work, credulous in mind, and ill-informed or inaccurate in his facts.

[1] *C.Q.R.* vol. xxxiv. pp. 95 *ff.*

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The passage which has called forth most hostile criticism is his account of the martyrdom of James, the Lord's brother, which is given at length in the second book of the *History*.[1] Eusebius took this from the fifth and last book of the *Memoirs*, and since chronologically it should have been placed in the first book, it is argued that Hegesippus was clearly a man lacking the virtue of method, which in work of an historical character is a grave fault. But our knowledge of the scope of his *Memoirs* is too scanty to justify the charge. The author mentions the death of James elsewhere, and presumably in its right place. And for all we know the fifth book may have been supplementary, an anecdotal commentary on the facts of the four previous books. This particular narrative might well have formed part of an essay on *the Divine Judgements* on the Jews. And we think that there are internal marks in this and other places of a painstaking mind, anxious to give a clear and concise account of what has been sifted and arranged in the mind of the writer.

That his mind was credulous is a more serious charge, and one, moreover, which we cannot meet with a simple denial. But let us be careful to understand what we mean by the admission. Hegesippus was credulous as St. Ambrose and St. Augustine and the best men of those early times were credulous. That is, neither he nor they were ready, so easily as ourselves, to look upon an incident as *prima facie* impossible or improbable when attested by presumably honest persons. The present case does not require more than this. In the other reference to the event Hegesippus says that St. James suffered *on the same charge as the Lord*,[2] and here in the full account he gives, *mutatis mutandis*, a picture very analogous to that enacted at the Praetorium. We understand therefore by that phrase that St. James had to endure the same process of false witnesses, of harassing self-incriminating questions and stirring up of popular passions, as was pursued in the case of the Lord; and that Hegesippus is intentionally reproducing the whole occurrence

[1] Euseb. *Hist.* ii. 23. [2] ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, *ibid.* iv. 22.

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to give the parallel, and in the form that careful study had shewn to be most authentic. If this is so, the mere fact that apparently impossible questions and incidents have a place in the narrative does not necessarily detract from the reputation of the author. He may have been conscious, no less than ourselves, of these incongruities. But his aim was to tell the story as he found it, and we cannot be too thankful that he did so. We should certainly have been the losers had Hegesippus given us a summary account of what he conjectured to have been the course of events, instead of this graphic but in many points extraordinary account.

But we have still to face the most serious charge of all. The story closes with the startling announcement that '*Thereupon Vespasian besieged it.*' And historically it would not be easy to pack more errors into so short a sentence. It alleges that immediately on the death of James, Vespasian besieged Jerusalem; whereas we know that the siege did not take place till some time after, and then not under Vespasian but Titus. But the fall of Jerusalem was commonly thought by Christians and Jews alike to have ensued as the result of the execution of James the Just.[1] His martyrdom filled up the cup of the guilt of the Holy City, and the series of events which closed with the siege did practically begin with the invasion of Vespasian. We need, therefore, only suppose that Hegesippus either hit upon an unfortunate Greek word to translate his Syriac phrase, or, with Dr. Hort, claim for it a rhetorical, and in the circumstances legitimate,[2] meaning, and we shall have a simple explanation of the matter. The three words become a terse and pregnant sentence pointing the moral of his tale.

But whatever we may think of this excursion into the domain of the philosophy of history, we can set over against it the many marks of a serious, thoughtful, and accurate observer who shews aptitude in laying emphasis on the

[1] Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 9. 1.

[2] Attributing to the Emperor Vespasian the acts of his general, Titus.

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salient points of interest. In this very narrative, for instance, he contrives to blend a double, if not triple, tradition into a simple consecutive story,[1] and is careful to mention that he visited the site of the tragedy. So in numerous other cases. When he tells us that James governed the Church at Jerusalem *in conjunction with the Apostles*,[2] he is using an original expression, but one which exactly describes the position. Or when he visits Corinth, the Church of early disorder and strife, he dwells with emphasis on their *abiding under their bishop in the right doctrine*.[3] Again at Rome he makes for himself a succession of the bishops. In the same spirit of accuracy he lets us see that it was during the episcopate of Anicetus that he made his enquiry, and adds as a note that since then Soter and Eleutherus have in turn succeeded. It is natural, too, for him, in mentioning the prevalence of idolatry, to give an instance which came under his own observation.[4] We learn from the *History* that he made the acquaintance of as many bishops as possible and sought information from them all, and we think that the most reasonable attitude to adopt towards him is that of Eusebius himself. We believe him to have been a diligent and shrewd observer, who has left us an honest account of his researches, and, in common with Hort, Lightfoot, and Milligan,[5] we regard him as one who may be safely followed in the new facts which he contributes to our enquiry.

[1] St. James being thrown down from the pinnacle of the Temple, being stoned, put to death by a fuller's club.

[2] Euseb. *Hist.* ii. 23. [3] *Ibid.* iv. 22. [4] *Ibid.*

[5] The fullest, and, it is noteworthy to remark, the most appreciative discussion of his merits is that of the first. In the judgement of Dr. Hort there is 'ample evidence that he had special knowledge of Palestinian Christianity' (*op. cit.* 165). 'An Ælian Christian of active mind would have little difficulty in gathering up some traditions of the earlier time surviving among the descendants of the earlier Church,' and 'However these may have reached him, there is no reason to doubt that he faithfully reproduced them' (*ibid.* 169).

See also Lightfoot, *op. cit.* p. 278. 'The testimony of an early Palestinian writer . . . is of the utmost importance.' And Milligan, *Dict. Chr. Biogr.*, *s.v.*

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These have to do with the relatives of our Lord and are contained in the following statements:

1. 'James, the brother of the Lord, succeeded to the government of the Church in conjunction with the Apostles' (*ap.* Eus. *H. E.* ii. 23).

2. 'Of the family of the Lord there were still living the grandchildren of Jude, who is said to have been the Lord's brother according to the flesh' (*Ibid.* iii. 20).

3. 'After James the Just had suffered martyrdom, as the Lord had also on the same account, Simeon, the son of the Lord's uncle, Cleopas, was appointed next bishop. All proposed him as second bishop because he was the cousin of the Lord' (*Ibid.* iv. 22).[1]

4. 'Cleopas was the brother of Joseph' (*Ibid.* iii. 11).

From these quotations two important deductions may be drawn. In the first place, as mentioned above, Hegesippus disposes of the 'cousin' theory. Not only does he speak of brothers as well as cousins, drawing a distinction which is fatal to it, but he traces the cousinship through Cleopas the brother of Joseph, and it is hardly credible that he could have passed over in silence the fact of double relationship had Simeon's mother, Mary of Cleopas, also been the sister of the Virgin, as that theory contends. Then, secondly, in the matter of relationship he appears to think only of Joseph. It is as the children of Joseph that the two men, James and Jude, are the Lord's *so-called* brethren[2]; and as the child of Cleopas, the brother of Joseph, and the *Lord's uncle* that Simeon becomes his *cousin according* to the flesh. Of course these expressions by themselves could not be regarded as more than significant and would prove

[1] As is well known there has been much dispute about the meaning of Hegesippus here, but the above is now generally accepted as correct interpretation. See Routh, *Rel. Sac.* i. 215; Lightfoot, *op. cit.* 276.

[2] He does not, indeed, say so in so many words, but it is hard to put any other construction upon this. Could he, for instance, have used such circumlocution of language about Simeon if, as a matter of fact, he was literally the Lord's first cousin through Joseph's wife Mary? Is 't not the language of a man wishing to be direct and explicit but with an entirely abnormal condition of relationship, well known in his time, to deal with?

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nothing. But they do not stand alone. Supplementing them, we have the attitude of Eusebius towards this question of relationship which is frankly and consistently in favour of the theory now under discussion. And when we see how completely he depends on Hegesippus in this part of his *History*, invariably quoting him whenever any reference to the Lord's relatives is made, we feel entitled to say that Hegesippus should be understood as tracing the relationship through Joseph *alone*.[1] In other words, a critical examination of his testimony is found to support the third of our three alternative theories.

And, lastly, this explanation satisfies a religious instinct which demands recognition. Deep-seated in the heart of Christendom there has ever been a conviction of the perpetual virginity of the mother of the Lord. Waiving altogether the question of authoritative pronouncements on this matter, and fully recognizing as we do that a sentiment, however estimable or widespread, cannot possibly govern a question of historical fact, we are convinced that this persistent and ineradicable feeling on the part of Catholic Christians needs to be taken seriously into account. As a pious opinion it is in no way comparable to the questions raised by medieval Schoolmen, and it has no part or lot with those esoteric *cults* which from time to time have sprung up and been sedulously nourished in local churches until they have gained for themselves an unhealthy popularity and almost universal observance.[2] It is traceable—dimly, indeed, yet traceable—right away back to the earliest times, and accords well with the veil of mystic reserve in which the Lord's mother is last mentioned in Holy Writ. And the simplest explanation is that it has its origin in historic fact, and is part of the imperishable memory of the Church. The

[1] We think, therefore, that Professor Mayor leaves out a very important consideration when he says that the testimony of Hegesippus is quite consistent with the Helvidian theory. As Bishop Lightfoot remarks, whatever uncertainty lies in our knowledge of his attitude, there could have been none on this score with Eusebius and Epiphanius. *op. cit.* 278.

[2] As suggested in Hastings' *Dict.*, *l.c.*

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virginal conception of the Lord, from the time that it was disclosed, seems to have laid hold of the imagination of the early Church. It gave just that reasonable basis and starting-point for a life which was to reach its climax in our Lord's Resurrection and Ascension, and justified all the brilliancy of love and joy and hope which His teaching had made the common property of mankind. Of necessity it exalted the Instrument of the Incarnation to a place unique among God's creatures, and sent men like Irenaeus to their Scriptures to find there intimations of this part of the Divine scheme hidden away in prophecies and types of the Virgin, as of the Lord Himself. Thus they did not hesitate to apply to her such bold figures as that of the second Eve whose obedience repairs the original fault of the first.[1] So the question is forced on us whether this attitude could have come into vogue or have sprung from an apocryphal invention during an age following close upon that in which our Lord's relatives were held in esteem in the Church, if it had been known—as assuredly it would have been known—that they were the descendants of His mother through the ordinary course of nature? To ask this question is to answer it! But however valuable this consideration may be as historical support to our position, that is not our concern now. The instinct is as strong among Catholic Christians to-day as at the first, and St. Basil's words remain splendidly true in every age that 'the lovers of Christ cannot endure to think that Mary ever ceased to be a Virgin.[2]' This needs explanation, and is deserving of special attention at a time when the *religious* belief of Christians is held in many quarters to rival, if not to surpass, their *historic* belief in its evidential value. To press the significance of present day faith in a '*living Christ*' to gain credence for a subsidiary truth would be as mischievous as it would be absurd, and we wish to do no more than remind our readers of the recognized reality of this form of evidence. On questions of secondary importance connected with the Incarnation, no fact has impressed itself more deeply on

[1] Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii. 22, 4. [2] *Hom. in S. Ch. Gener.* ii.

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the Christian consciousness throughout the length and breadth of the Church's life than this one of the perpetual virginity of Mary, and we are entitled to suggest that the explanation of the phenomenon may be found in that direction. In other words, we hold that it is, in all probability, the outcome of the working of the Spirit of Christ, of that mind of Christ in the hearts and imaginations of His disciples, forming in them a sympathetic perception of His human mother's undeviating and single-hearted devotion to His Incarnate Life and utter disregard of all lower interests, just as the same Spirit operating on their intellects and wills leads them to the knowledge of His truth and conformity of life.

We have not been able to do more than glance at the lines along which the enquiry can best be pursued, and to draw attention to some of the arguments most deserving of attention. We are of opinion that the more thoroughly the investigation is carried out the more clearly will the conclusions at which we have arrived be found most reasonable and the answer satisfactory. Insuperable difficulties to the acceptance of either the Helvidian or Hieronymian—the half-brother or cousin—theories will increasingly present themselves, whereas that associated, not very happily, with the name of Epiphanius—the *so-called* or *reputed* relationship through Joseph alone—will be found to be reconcileable with every statement in the New Testament, to be in accordance with the Palestinian tradition, and to provide a clue to the birth and vigorous growth of the celibate life among women in imitation of her whom God Incarnate deigned to love with the love that an only son feels for the mother who bore him.

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ART. V.—TRACTARIAN FICTION.

1. *The Autobiography of Elizabeth M. Sewell.* Edited by her niece, ELEANOR L. SEWELL. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1907.)
2. *Charlotte Mary Yonge: Her Life and Letters.* By CHRISTABEL COLERIDGE. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1903.)
3. *Novels of Charlotte Yonge.* 'Shilling Edition.' (London: Macmillan & Co., 1908.)
4. *Tales and Stories of Elizabeth M. Sewell.* 'Cheap Edition.' (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1907.)
5. *The Magazine for the Young.* (London: Mozley, 1842.)
6. *The Churchman's Companion.* (London: Masters.)
7. *The Monthly Packet.* Edited by CHARLOTTE MARY YONGE. (London: Mozley, 1851–1899.)

And many other works.

MANY of the elder women workers in England to-day grew up under the influence of the Oxford Movement in the English Church, and its spirit was infused into them, in a great measure, by the novels and tales which they read in girlhood and in early middle life. We do not refer only to the special line of religious thought which these stories inculcated, though, of course, they did a great deal to make the principles of the Oxford teachers lovable and comprehensible to the young women of their generation. Their severe and lofty, if somewhat narrow, ethics cut deeper than their theology. Women educated on these lines may cease to be 'High Church,' but they will be the same kind of women still. And the newer generation may be now more 'advanced' in Church teaching, but its conscience does not speak with the same voice, or rather does not issue the same sort of orders. There will soon be no one left to record them, or to recognize them when recorded.

Before the children of that older school have quite ceased to play their part in the world's development it may be worth while to see what it was besides their literary merit,

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which was of course in some cases very considerable, that gave the books which they loved such extraordinary influence over their generation.

The first tales by which 'Church principles' were intentionally inculcated were written by men; but though Mr. Griesley and Mr. Paget, Dr. Neale and Dr. Newman were perhaps the first in the field, their novels never had the wide-spread influence of those of the women writers who came beside and after them, being indeed written by men who were rather theologians than novelists, though Mr. Paget's tales were full of humour and Dr. Neale's stories had undoubted charm. But the most widely popular writings were written by women for women, by ladies for ladies, by young ladies for young ladies to read. We do not mean that men did not read and enjoy some of these books—those in sympathy with their teaching did; but it was with deliberate intention that they contained nothing outside the view of a carefully reared young lady. Any attempt to view life from another point of view would have been repudiated by the writers and have jarred on the readers.

The names of Elizabeth Sewell and Charlotte Yonge stand of course high above the rest; but equally typical, though much less widely known, were other stories belonging to the same school and filled with the same spirit. These tales grew into the very life of many girls who were young on either side of the middle of the nineteenth century. Some of those who read and loved them also read Carlyle and Kingsley, Charlotte Brontë and Miss Muloch, but not a few of their readers were shut into a charmed circle, with every opposing or modifying influence left outside.

What then were the ethics, what was the tone of mind which was thus fostered? In natures which were both sweet and genuine the training sometimes produced a kind of stainless trustworthiness, an innocence of soul which formed a unique and most worthy type. Evil has been resisted and avoided; right, so far as understood, has at all costs been done. The 'goodness' of such a woman is the most absolutely certain thing in the world. The delicacy of her rectitude is complete. The most perfect flower of

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Puritanism blossomed among the children of the 'Catholic' movement of the nineteenth century. 'Thou shalt not' was the prominent thought, but the 'Thou shalt' of the Church teaching led them to newly discovered graces. These white souls grew up in a garden of Eden bounded by very high hedges. It is frequently said that the picture of life presented by Miss Yonge's writings was 'unreal.' The truth is that it was extremely narrow, limited by religious, moral, and social barriers. But it existed in the flesh. The prototypes of Guy Morville, Ethel May, and Felix Underwood walked this earth, and those belonging to their small circle can point to family letters and traditions fully justifying Miss Yonge's own saying that she could not describe any character so good as some of the people she had known. The world she described was quite real, but it was very small, and its scruples and ideals were hardly more general in 1850 than in 1900.

But, on the other hand, while the 'Thou shalt not' which gave the teaching its peculiar flavour was obeyed by comparatively few, the books inculcating it rode into popularity on the inrush of all the new ideals of Church teaching. These ideals with their peculiar ethics were new in their day and attracted rebellious and reforming youth. All the heroes and heroines of Tractarian fiction were engaged in curing their faults. Consequently curing one's faults was a very interesting occupation, and the Tractarian maiden set herself with genuine ardour to cure hers. She examined herself, and she repented, she counted her cross words, sometimes she stuck pins into her pincushion so that she might not forget the number she had uttered. She denied herself an extra visit to her district and took a pleasant drive instead with the sternest sense of duty. Like the legendary G.F.S. girl who regarded her mistress as her cross, she regarded her parents as the occasions of self-discipline and sacrificed her enlightened aspirations to their prejudices. As for her feelings under these efforts, they did not count: it was wrong to consider feelings, in fact good feelings were hardly desirable, actions alone signified.

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But as feelings have a way of oozing out, the girl who was repenting earnestly of having spoken crossly to her mother at eleven-thirty in the morning was not always a pleasant companion to her sisters at four-thirty in the afternoon. Most of her favourite heroines were more unworldly than their sisters and more religious than their parents, like Sarah in the *Experience of Life*, and she could not but feel that this was the case with herself. Probably her various 'crosses' did not accept her view of the situation, nevertheless she did deny herself, and when the stress of trouble came she was often a person to fall back upon.

It is, of course, a commonplace to say that this self-conscious attitude involved conceit and arrogance, but we do not think this commonplace tells the whole truth. These conscientious girls were often really humble; but they were no doubt often very disagreeable and ill-tempered, for the outward action was supposed to bring its inward feeling with it, and it frequently failed to do so. The pursuit of goodness was the aim of life; but the goodness consisted too much in external actions, and religion consisted in doing religious duties. If you went to church every day and followed the prayers, saying over again when you came home any piece which you had missed from inattention, you ought not to mind whether or no you enjoyed the service. The great point was not to enjoy anything else, *e.g.* your neighbour's bonnets or behaviour. As for sermons, it was wrong to criticize them and, as all sermons were better than your own thoughts, it was perhaps not quite right to like one better than another. But it was very wrong not to listen to every word. Nevertheless, somehow, faithful and devout church-goers grew up under these conditions, and no doubt many and many have won the blessing which they knew not how to desire and would never have thought they deserved.

The first characteristic then of the early Tractarian spirit was the identification of doing right with religion: its fine side was the absolute reality which this conviction worked, its weakness over-scrupulous fears and shibboleths which had a tendency to become Pharisaic. It did not

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always see the wood for the trees, and the sense of proportion was lost—a great loss in later life. But those trained in it learned to avoid doing wrong at any cost of self-denial, and it must never be supposed that they were not absolutely sincere.

The second characteristic was the desire to work for the poor. We do not think that this expressed itself exactly in terms of humanitarian philanthropy, but it contained the germ of much of the philanthropic work which has been done since. The conscious object was usually 'the Church,' by which, it would seem, was often meant teaching poor children the Catechism and inducing their parents to come to Church services and not to attend chapel. But into this framework there leapt the new enthusiasm of a young and ardent generation. When the Misses Manners taught the children of Langley School,[1] and when Ethel May set up a class at Cocksmoor,[2] they led the way to a great movement in aid of education. The Tractarian maiden was much afraid of being presumptuous, she dared not soar beyond the children of her own parish school; but the irresistible impulse of her generation made her, as she was often told, 'disturb the family breakfast table' by going to Sunday school, and pour out upon her class there zeal that would have started a settlement. And her work had its reward. The refined and conscientious women, now old and elderly, to be found in the working classes testify to it. Her work as she understood it was sound and thorough, and if she did less definite good than her bolder successors, she scarcely ever did any harm. In some cases the enthusiasm was rather for the school, the class, than for the individual; she did not know how to follow up her scholars in after life, and was apt to think more of the lesson to be given than of the child to be taught.

And here we touch on a great problem. She knew nothing of the conditions of working class life. She did not see the evils she was endeavouring to cure. She was taught never to refer to them. In many cases she was as innocent

[1] C. M. Yonge, *Langley School.* [2] C. M. Yonge, *The Daisy Chain.*

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as an angel. What good, people will perhaps say now, could she do? Well, at least no scholar, no humble friend would for worlds untold have helped her to learn. They recognized a being other than themselves. She never brushed up against codes of propriety which she did not understand. Even now, when facts are told, when evil is supposed to be known, there are angels, unrealizing, ignorant still, but these angels sometimes come suddenly to the knowledge of what their crammed up 'facts of real life' mean. Then there is a crisis and the angel knows good and evil, and sometimes becomes a saviour. But sometimes, on the other hand, there is an inward shipwreck, always a risk. The Tractarian angels have some of them never known, since not to know painful facts was the duty of youth, and they have never realized that duties develop as the years go on. That is the real weakness of their school. Nevertheless, in spite of limitations, the impulse of work for others was first given in many a Tractarian schoolroom.

The third note of the movement was the extreme importance attached to obedience to parents. Literal obedience was never to be outgrown. So long as the father lived the son was never to be the final judge of his own conduct—the daughter throughout her life was to submit. Miss Yonge preached this doctrine in its fulness: instances occur all through her writings, and in one of her latest works she makes the middle-aged independent clergyman say that he will not accept a living 'unless my father makes it a matter of obedience'; while among her followers, notably in books by the *Author of the Wynnes*,[1] the number of violent ill-judging, prejudiced fathers who snub their excellent sons, who obey in silence, was most depressing. Whether any young man in real life ever carried out these principles may be doubtful, but hundreds of conscientious and unadaptable young women struggled through middle age with a perpetual striving after sentiments which were impossible to them even if the corresponding actions were carried out. It was not right to be less filial, *i.e.* less subordinate, at fifty

[1] C. M. Yonge and C. R. Coleridge, *Strolling Players.* (Macmillan & Co.)

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than at fifteen. They did not always bear it out even to the edge of doom, but when they did, alas, for the reaction! But there is little need nowadays to drive that lesson home. These daughters who did not revolt have not driven it home in their turn to a younger generation.

Another less obvious characteristic of these stories was the intensification of all family relations, and especially those of brother and sister. Into this last of course there entered the subordination of girl to boy, of woman to man; the little sister rejoiced to be her brother's holiday slave, she was happy when he ordered her about—her life was the reflection of his. If he brought home a friend it was regarded as a cruel interruption to the fraternal intercourse. Girls gave up their lovers (in fiction) with hardly a regret if they thought that their brother desired it, and, when the brother married, life seemed over for them, and jealousy of the sister-in-law could hardly be suppressed. This last ideal did really do mischief, and the whole thing, when no lover came to the sister to break the spell, undoubtedly led to unreasonable expectations and needless sorrow.

But to give up one's lover on almost any ground was the height of virtue. The lover, even the betrothed, had no recognized rights. Amy Edmondstone[1] refrains from letting the calumniated Guy know that she trusts him. Ethel May[2] runs away from the admirer who might have made it possible for her to wish to leave her father for his sake. Such self-suppression had its counter-part in real life; the unreal note of course is that the author does not see that Amy's doubt of Guy might have driven him to the bad altogether, and that Dr. May, the father of many daughters, might have rejoiced at the provision for one.

Self-sacrifice became in itself an object, and there was little sense that self-denial is not the same thing as unselfishness. Something, however, must be allowed to the needs of the story. The inadequate motives for the necessary self-sacrifice which we find in these tales, the secrets which never ought to have been kept and the telling

[1] *The Heir of Redclyffe.* [2] *The Daisy Chain.*

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of which would have done no conceivable harm—the way in which the peace of mind of whole families and the life-long happiness of lovers were destroyed by the determined sacrifice of the hero and heroine, spring, however, from *The Heir of Redclyffe* downwards, as much from ill-constructed plots as from exaggerated scruples. The sacrifice was necessary to the character-development, and the author could not find a more reasonable occasion for it. But the effect on the readers was either to create needless scruples or to produce a violent reaction in favour of self-indulgence—a reaction still in full swing.

It must be very difficult for a younger generation to grasp the point of view, to realize that this exclusive, narrow, severe view of life's duties was not enforced by authority, but was really the form taken by a new ardent dynamic force which was moving a generation. The severity was the work of the young. It was new and up-to-date to be 'particular,' to despise gaieties and ordinary pleasures. No girl wore a long cloak and a quiet bonnet because her mother objected to fine clothes, but in obedience to an impulse at which her mother very likely stared. The newly roused 'good Churchmanship' expressed itself in these moral efforts quite as much as in daily church-going or in the holding of any special doctrines. It expressed itself also in a scrupulous reverence, which was shewn in points familiar to many of us. In walking through a churchyard, you must avoid if possible treading on a gravestone even in the path. No other book must ever be laid on a Bible or Prayer-book. No Holy Name must ever be spoken except in prayer—a silent pause must be made instead of uttering it in reading aloud, the most roundabout phrases must be used to express a religious thought—a religious feeling must hardly be expressed at all. This last scruple was, as it seems to the writer, a real handicap in dealing with children and poor people. Faith must be guarded by the refusal to hear attacks upon it. The Church of Rome was then the enemy. No arguments in its favour or even against it must ever be heard. The question must not be worked out. Many women went through life feeling themselves

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at the bar of Rome, and full of fears that they had risked their salvation by stifling questions as to the validity of Anglican Orders. In the same way when other influences came to the fore, they have remained successfully ignorant of the mildest forms of Criticism.

The great mistake lay in thinking that maturity needed the restraints of early youth, in refusing to develop, in being more afraid of doing wrong than anxious to do right—in short, in resting in an imperfect faith that never cast out fear. And yet what happy souls have lived under its shadow! At least the life was harmonious—belief and practice were one. It must be incomprehensible to the woman who attends the most 'advanced' church she can find for the Celebration, entertains any theosophical or faith-healing views that may be in fashion, and gets as much Sunday motoring and week-end gaiety as she can.

Of course no rules were exactly laid down as to things forbidden. The definite codes of Quakers and Puritans could not be formulated. 'The hedges about the law' were invisible, but they were none the less real. The High Church Movement modified practice in the smallest details. Some of the questions discussed illustrate this. 'If a book generally orthodox and excellent contains any one sceptical or coarse page, should the book be read?' No. An author should be forbidden if one word could not be safely recommended to young readers. 'Nothing unfit for a child to read can be fit for her mother.' 'No fashion should be adopted the imitation of which might be unsuitable to village girls'—it was better to buy no material which could not be safely passed on to poorer neighbours. It is exceedingly difficult for anyone trained in this school to look at it from outside. No one ever outgrows the delicate hairsplitting of that early environment. But 'Tractarian ethics' had two great defects. They presupposed a certain social atmosphere and often led to the identification of vital religion with a refined tone of mind and with a fastidious taste in trifles. It was therefore very difficult to make them widely applicable. It was once said 'that the peculiar reverent enthusiasm of the High Church Move-

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ment could not be handed round in bottles to outsiders.' There was truth in this as the followers of the movement interpreted the teaching, but it must be owned that it was a very 'uncatholic' sentiment.

The other great mistake was the refusal to accept the growing responsibilities of thought and action as life went on. This made the guidance of younger minds impossible. No one could accept a warning against a book from a woman who refused to read it. A notable instance of this occurs in Miss Yonge's published letters. She was much shocked by favourable reviews in Church newspapers of a book which *a friend told her* was objectionable, and wrote letters to the papers and critics condemning the book. In a letter to a friend she says, 'I did not see the original articles, nor have I read the horrid book. . . . I wrote to —— of the shocking irreverence of "flights of imagination and inaccuracy in dealing with inspired writings and the Death." I durst not say more for fear of *betraying that I have not read it.*'[1] Miss Yonge was one of the most honourable women who ever lived, and yet the extreme unfairness of publicly condemning an unread book never struck her. The duty was to avoid coming in contact with anything objectionable. It was this attitude of mind, of which many instances could be given, that really caused the breakdown of that long-lasting and, on the whole, most salutary influence, and made it fail with a generation which lived with open doors. She had been told by a person she respected that it was not necessary for her to read books of which she did not hear good. And she thought that refusing to read anything about them was the best example she could set. Yet she did not see that this imposed silence on her as to their tendencies. But in the small and influential circle which surrounded Charlotte Yonge's youth, the fine and delicate spirit of *The Christian Year*, with much of its beauty and more than its limitations, was transmuted into precepts for the guidance of young womanhood.

The feminine side of the Oxford Movement was spread

[1] *Charlotte Mary Yonge: Her Life and Letters.* By C. R. Coleridge. (Macmillan & Co., 1903.)

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by three magazines, *The Churchman's Companion*, *The Monthly Packet*, and *The Magazine for the Young*. The first of these was never, we believe, edited by a lady, but almost all its tales, except some by Dr. Neale, were written by women. In its early days it contained some good serial work, but it fell afterwards into foolish extravagance, and was always controversial, while the note of the school was never to argue but always to ignore opposing views. A generation brought up on *The Monthly Packet* hardly knew that any 'nice people' thought otherwise than they did themselves. This much loved magazine was through nearly the whole of its career an extension of Charlotte Yonge's personality, and it brought all her restrained enthusiasm, her refined cultivation, her sensible superior tastes to bear on its young readers. Natural history, botany, literature, history, a sort of foreshadowing of what is now called folk-lore, studies in great poetry and excellent Church teaching were there put before young women. Some of the information may have been unverified, perhaps unverifiable, but it inspired cultivated tastes, and more or less satisfied them as it grew up with its readers, while the tales that wound their slow length along through months and years sank into the hearts and became part of the very lives of good girls, who gave the '*Packet*' almost personal affection. Of course there were dull stories and sets of papers which had apparently no end, and the beginning of which was lost in antiquity; but there was very little that was silly, and not much that was morbid and exaggerated in its treasured pages. The system of prize competitions was forestalled in it; only there were no prizes. The work was done for love of the subject and of the '*Packet*' itself.

Papers on Dante, on Greek poets, on the Morte d'Arthur, and French literature gave real cultivation. Miss Yonge's *Conversations on the Catechism* and other similar papers taught religion and conduct in what was then a most attractive form. Her *Cameos from English History* may have been somewhat inaccurate, and certainly regarded history entirely from the personal and biographical point of view, but they gave to many of us an outline knowledge of European

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events, which we are not at all sure is always possessed by the younger generation. Many 'social' movements really were shadowed out between the old blue covers. Workhouse visiting, sisterhoods, district visiting, school teaching, questions of propriety, were discussed and did more or less develop with their readers—while Miss Yonge's *Womankind* expressed the whole delicate, exclusive, and refined sentiment on which the little magazine was founded, but expressed it just as its details were becoming obsolete and its rules needed to be distinguished from its principles. Trouble came when the experts of art, science and literature no longer breathed the atmosphere nor shared the scruples of the editors and readers of the '*Packet*.' Young people knew who were the real authorities in their special subjects, and a paper refusing to mention a famous name because his writings were not 'safe' no longer carried the same weight, while the tiniest current of outer air was intolerable to those to whom the old atmosphere was life. Nobody with real intelligence could put up with papers compiled on purpose to exclude new teaching. To confute it was one thing, but to ignore it had become impossible, and unless the old magazine had retreated into work for mere children its day was gone. For good or for evil the new generation had to 'see and choose' its path, whether it liked it or not. Nothing carried on upon the exclusive principle of the old magazine can now exist on the same social and intellectual level. *The Treasury* is hardly more like it than *The Strand Magazine*. For it was not only intended to bring forward certain principles of faith and conduct, but to exclude the knowledge of others, and so strong was its influence on its own readers that those restrictions, by no means undesirable at fifteen, they themselves clung to at fifty. The little *Magazine for the Young*, edited by Miss Mozley, and intended for younger and less educated readers, ran alongside of *The Monthly Packet* and has never been adequately replaced, though *Friendly Leaves*, the organ of the Girls' Friendly Society, owes much to its example.

We believe *The Monthly Packet* to have been the most complete expression as well as the chief vehicle of feminine

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Tractarian ethics; but it was, of course, itself formed in the first place by the great leaders of the movement and secondly by the writers who followed their teaching.

Miss Sewell came first. There was a force in her writing, a definiteness in her view which greatly influenced her early readers. She was not one of the projectors of *The Monthly Packet*, but she contributed some religious papers to it, and in the first days of the High School movement some articles on girls' education which were by no means illiberal for the period. Two of her novels, *Amy Herbert* and *Laneton Parsonage*, came before it. They were well-written high-minded stories, with an element of old-fashioned romance and sentiment, and their religious conversations were not uncongenial and were certainly instructive to her more thoughtful readers. Her grown-up tales were severe, the type of character held up was unamiable, goodness was heavily paid for by a gloomy view of the rest of mankind, though there was something fine in the uncompromising rectitude of her heroines, such as Katherine Ashton, Ursula, and Sarah in the *Experience of Life*, a most unpleasant girl with excellent principles.[1] On the other hand, some of the plots and characters were wildly melodramatic, and caught another sort of reader. *Cleve Hall* with its smugglers and villains, its cruel fathers and its self-sacrificing hero, with its self-conscious girls and small conscientious struggles, is like an old-fashioned sensational novel, with a difference. *Margaret Percival*, from its subject, was probably the most discussed. A clever, conscientious girl belonging to an extremely disagreeable family comes across a half-Italian countess, a Roman Catholic. A great friendship ensues, and Margaret (not unnaturally as the Roman Catholics are almost the only tolerably nice people she knows) is on the point of joining them, when her uncle, an excellent clergyman, comes to the rescue. The horror with which the step she proposes is regarded by him is immense. He neither gives her a good scolding on the score of her youth—she is not twenty—nor has her sent away to pay

[1] Elizabeth Sewell: *Ursula*, *Katherine Ashton*, *Experience of Life*, *Margaret Percival*. (Longmans, Brown & Green.)

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visits and recover from the fascination. Nor does he, on the other hand, talk the matter out with her as with a girl of such talents he might very well have done. He behaves as if her wavering fancy had been frightful sin, uses hardly any argument with her, nor tries to find out what has upset her, but makes her promise to give up her friends and never to touch a Roman book again. She is not to face the difficulty but to refuse to think about it. This line of conduct succeeds and Margaret recovers her faith in the Church of England. It certainly appeared to some even of the immediately succeeding generation that it would not only have been ardent imagination but outraged reason which would have led her into the snare. Afterwards the Roman Catholic friend, dying and lonely, implores Margaret to come and stay with her. But she might have been again brought under the spell, and in a spirit of martyrdom she refuses to help her friend. Indignant youth said then, and would still more say now, 'She had better have turned infidel than have been so selfish!'

Miss Yonge so far took the same view that, when she wished to represent a heroine as 'Romanizing,' she remarks in a letter to a friend that she must be careful not to realize her difficulties and temptations as they might unsettle herself. Mr. Keble, however, did not allow her to remain exactly in this state of mind. In the thirty years' recollections which are prefixed to her *Musings on the Christian Year*, she tells how he took her for a long walk by the river side and going into the controversy with her explained his own views, upon which she rested for the remainder of her life.

Neither gloom nor melodrama were to be found in her kind and cheerful pages. Family life with her was a happy thing, a training school indeed, but sweet with affection and bright with little pleasures. It did indeed afford—

> 'Room to deny ourselves, a road
> To bring us daily nearer God.'

Many a tear no doubt was shed over her pages, but Guy Morville's early death never darkened anyone's outlook, and misunderstandings and vexations could be overcome

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and turned to good, because it was always one's own fault when things went wrong—and no other conviction really makes life so capable of happiness. Life was good, friends were good, God was good, and if young things were naughty, they could grow better. And they did! Troubles her characters had, but they were never allowed to have grievances.

It takes many sorts to make a world, but after all, well-born and well-bred women do pass through stretches of life without coming face to face with primaeval passions, and perhaps it is as well not to be always expecting them. It is certainly as well that a young woman's aim in life should be to be as good and not as bad as her circumstances permit.

To the scholars of this Tractarian school other names besides those of these bright particular stars were dear, though some of them were apt to be *plus royaliste que le roi* and to imitate the defects rather than the merits of their leaders. Some wild anonymous tales in *The Churchman's Companion* were highly interesting in the eyes of youth, but in after life could only be described as intensely silly. The *Author of the Wynnes* gave us really excellent imitations of *The Daisy Chain*, but there was a touch of exaggeration in the sentiments inculcated. Miss Florence Wilfred was a charming writer, and her little romance of *Dominie Freylingshausen* never met with the admiration it deserved. *Ivo and Verena* was the work of Miss Mary Ann Dyson. It was a single blossom of great sweetness, and her share in forming Charlotte Yonge's mind, and therefore in the whole output of the school, was very considerable. Miss Annie Kearey gave *The Monthly Packet* her *York and Lancaster Rose*, and other charming stories; but though she sailed under the flag, she drew her real inspiration from other sources. Many and many a book now found only on old schoolroom bookshelves did a good work for its young contemporaries, and a whole set of writers, Miss Frances Peard, the author of *Mademoiselle Mori*, Miss Bramston, Miss Helen Shipton, Miss Christabel Coleridge, Esmé Stuart, though they have lived into other days and

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echoed other thoughts, would all heartily acknowledge that Charlotte Yonge was their first inspiration, and that they learnt from her to give an account of their stewardship. And though she and Edna Lyall not only differed but clashed in their teaching, there is no doubt that 'Donovan' and 'Knight Errant' were sons and followers of 'The Heir of Redclyffe.' Guy Morville was a dynamic hero and started a school, not yet quite obsolete, though it contained some professors who might have surprised him.

It has not proved possible to illustrate the point of view of this article by quotations from the authors named. It is exceedingly characteristic of the school that definite instances in small compass of the views inculcated are hardly to be found. It would often be necessary to quote a whole book. Whatever may be thought of the 'atmosphere' of a Church school, the atmosphere of a Tractarian story book was indefinite but all-pervading. It remained the only atmosphere in which some of its readers could ever breathe freely; to some extent it is the native air of them all.

In the same way, in such a review, praise and blame must balance each other; the judgement may perhaps condemn, but the ingrained scruples lurk in the very condemnation. These good customs have no longer any chance of corrupting the world. We cannot fit into the grooves in which their ideas were set, but it will be an ill day for the Church of England if her women writers do not retain that high sense of the responsibility of the written word, or if they ever come to think that literary excellence and loyal Churchmanship are incompatible.

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Art. VI.—ADONIS, BAAL, AND ASTARTE.

1. *A Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions.* By G. A. Cooke, M.A., late Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford. (Oxford: At the University Press, 1903.)
2. *Adoniskult und Christentum auf Malta: eine Beleuchtung moderner Geschichtsbaumeisterei.* Von Dr. K. Lübeck. (Fulda, 1904.)
3. *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris.* By J. G. Frazer, Litt.D. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1907.)
4. *The Golden Bough: a Study in Magic and Religion.* Third Edition. Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris: Studies in the History of Oriental Religion.* Second Edition, revised and enlarged. By J. G. Frazer, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1907.)

And other works.

I.

Of extinct religions which have left their mark on the religious observances of the present day there is probably none so little understood as the religion of the Phoenicians. The inhabitants of the great cities on the strip of coast from Arvad to Dor were in such constant communication with the Jews, that one might have hoped to find in Hebrew literature more detailed information as to their cults and beliefs. But *proximorum inimicitiae acerbissimae.* The Hebrews as a rule, when they referred to the subject, were content with denunciations of the iniquities of their neighbours, and withal general denunciations, such as to the student of the history of religion are of small antiquarian value. Yet everyone who is interested in the history of Hebrew religion should make some attempt to realize the sort of atmosphere in which that wonderful system was developed. Apart from the importance of such knowledge for the understanding of the Old Testament, we must remember that the cults of Phoenicia, as of other Eastern lands, were for a long time rivals to the religion which

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eventually conquered them. They have vanished, and it is difficult for us now to imagine a state of things in which the ordinary cultivated man looked upon Christianity and, let us say, the worship of Mithras as two systems appealing to the vulgar or emotional person, with equally small claim on his consideration. Now that the struggle of Christianity for its existence against such rivals has become a matter of ancient history, a larger vision is able to recognize that in these systems, gross or distorted as they may seem, there was an attempt to express some of the eternal verities. We may not be ready to say with Novalis, 'Es gibt keine Religion die nicht Christenthum wäre'; but we can well believe that what was good and useful in the older religions, what was so deeply rooted in popular usage that to tear it up would have caused a convulsion likely to shake the foundations of the new system—such elements Christianity, by a wise tolerance, assimilated and converted to its own use. This was sometimes, perhaps in the majority of cases, done but half-consciously; yet not infrequently it seems to have been part of a settled policy. Writing to Ethelbert, King of the English, Gregory I. exhorted him to expel idol-worship and destroy the temples of the false gods; but his instructions to the Abbot Mellitus, the leader of the second mission, were different.

'Tell our brother the Bishop Augustine that the temples of the idols should by no means be destroyed; but the idols themselves therein should be destroyed; let holy water be made and sprinkled in the temple, altars built and relics placed there. For, if these temples are well built, it is necessary that they be converted from the worship of evil spirits to the service of the true God; so that the people, when they see that their own temples are left standing, may put away error out of their hearts, and knowing and adoring God may come together with less sense of strangeness to the places to which they have grown accustomed. And since they are wont in sacrificing to their evil spirits to slay many oxen, it is desirable that in this matter also some ceremony be established, with a certain difference. On the day of the dedication, or on the festivals of the holy martyrs whose relics are in the church, let them make booths for themselves around the churches which were once temples, and cele-

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brate the solemn festival with religious feasting; nor let them any more sacrifice beasts to the Devil, but slay them to the praise of God for their own eating, and give thanks to the Giver of all because they are filled. . . . For there is no doubt that it is impossible to cut off everything at once from hearts that are hard.'

This principle, then, was officially recognized; and although certain writers on the subject have cast their net rather too widely, and sought to leave nothing in Christian usage without its foundation in paganism, there are many cases, such as those of St. John Baptist's Day and the Feast of All Souls, in which probably few now care to deny the transference. These two festivals (the one representing the Adonis festival, the other a festival of the dead) are discussed at considerable length by Dr. Frazer, and are of extreme interest, even if we do not accept his argument in every detail.

Konrad Lübeck, in his vigorous onslaught upon Wünsch's theory of the Maltese Spring Festival,[1] gives a list of some of what he considers to be the wilder extravagances in this direction. Here is a selection: The worship of the Virgin Mary is derived from the cult of Venus and Astarte; the service of the Roman Catholic Church is identical with the cult of Nimrod and Semiramis; Jesus is an Israelitish Gilgamish; the history of the Birth of Jesus and the Adoration of the Magi is derived from the Mithraic religion, which also provided the Sacraments of Baptism, Penitence, and the Eucharist; the doctrine of Guardian Angels is derived from the Græco-Roman cult of the Genius; the heathen practice of incubation in temples was taken over and continued by the Church, and so on.

Now some of these theories are worthy of the scorn with which Lübeck treats them. But scorn is not the right way to treat them: they cannot be disproved by contempt, and the impartial reader of the 137 pages in which

[1] Dr. Frazer makes very little use of Wünsch's theory (*Das Frühlingsfest der Insel Malta*), which, if accepted, would offer considerable support to his own arguments; nor does he mention Lübeck's pamphlet.

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Lübeck discusses every minutest detail of Wünsch's theory will probably come to the conclusion that he has weakened his case by over-meticulous criticism of the other side. It is useless, at this time of day, to deny the principle sanctioned by Gregory and founded on a natural tendency towards continuity in human development.

Any research which tends to throw light upon the character of the rivals of the early Hebrew and Christian systems can only be welcomed. This is the age in which above all we are seeking to penetrate to the origins of systems of culture—often with no more hope of success than of learning 'what song the Syrens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women.' But nothing will stay men from such inquiries, and if the inquirer more often than not wanders from the right track, his error soon becomes patent, if not to himself, yet to his fellow-explorers. The shocks which orthodoxy sometimes suffers in the process do it less harm than the good which it receives in the way of stimulus. Neither the cause of truth nor of religion will suffer ultimately from these inquiries, even if we are occasionally shocked or irritated by over bold speculations. There is always a stimulus to truth in error, provided it be honest. Without saying more therefore about some of Dr. Frazer's speculations we shall attempt the study of this work in a scientific spirit.

II.

Untiring industry, a wide range of reading, a good style, a faculty for digesting and marshalling evidence in favour of a theory, a determination to follow whither that evidence seems to lead, a surprising ingenuity in explanation, and above all an activity of imagination which illuminates and vivifies the details of a long and complex argument—this is a combination of qualities which all who are acquainted with the earlier work of Dr. Frazer in the domain of comparative religion will expect to find in his new study of *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*. Nor will they be disappointed. The ingenuity and the imagination which

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were displayed to such an astonishing degree in the second edition of the *Golden Bough* are still here; but they shine, on the whole, with a comparatively subdued and more healthy glow. There is also the same tendency to drive the one, all-explaining theory too hard; but that is characteristic of everyone who has a whole-hearted belief that he has found the key to a mystery. On the whole it produces more results than the attitude of suspense which has no theory to support it. It provides the base on which the acid of criticism acts to produce the salt of true knowledge.

Dr. Frazer's new book is in its genesis a canter preliminary to the third edition of the *Golden Bough*, and its own second edition which has been considerably enlarged now appears formally as Part IV. of that work. Its length gives us some idea of the portentous size and weight to which this bough will eventually attain. But it may be regarded as a work in itself.

Dr. Frazer deals with three separate cults, but his method and the object at which his analysis is aimed are in all three cases the same. He finds in Adonis, Attis, and Osiris vegetation deities, whose worship arose out of the desire to promote the fertility of the crops by means of sympathetic magic, and whose ritual symbolizes the annual seeming death and revival of the corn or other cereal on which man depends for his sustenance. This symbolism was doubtless often as dark to the majority of those who carried out the ritual as it has been to us until modern investigation has found a key to its elucidation. To this person one key seems to be all-satisfactory, to that another. In any case it is the privilege of the modern investigator, armed in the panoply of comparative anthropology, and wielding with equal assurance weapons forged in Sardinia and the South Sea Islands, to pierce the defensive veil in which, thanks to the inherent obscurities of symbolism and the growths of time, the meaning of ancient religion is involved.

The Adonis-worship, the first of the three discussed by Dr. Frazer, is apparently the most important element in his argument, and in any case may be taken as typical of his

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method. The pages which follow, it should be premised, are not primarily intended as a criticism of Dr. Frazer's thesis, which could only honestly be undertaken by a writer of learning equal to his own. They do not, as will become clear, deal with the subject from the same point of view. But, as Dr. Frazer's book must have excited fresh interest in certain strange features of Oriental religion, the writer has thought it a not unsuitable opportunity to set forth a certain amount of information—often, it is to be feared, of a kind interesting only to specialists—which he has collected recently in the course of a study of Phoenician archaeology and numismatics. Incidentally the facts thus collected seem to shew—by implication, for it is not possible to do so directly—that the Adonis-worship, whatever peculiar features it may have had, was in essence only the cult of one of a large number of analogous deities, of whose vegetable or cereal character in other places there is not much evidence. In order to make this clear we propose to examine briefly the evidence furnished by extant inscriptions, coins, and other remains relating to certain of the cults in the great cities of Phoenicia, such as Aradus, Berytus, Byblus, Sidon, and Tyre.

We are unfortunate, as has been said, in having no contemporary literary information of a satisfactory character. Of course there is Sanchuniathon, whose theogony is supposed to be preserved in the Greek of Philo of Byblus, himself extant only in fragments. But his reputation is somewhat tarnished, and that not merely by his association with the memory of Mr. Ephraim Jenkinson's fraud on the Vicar of Wakefield. His existence even is doubted; and Philo's account of the subject must be taken on his own authority only. But there is no reason to suppose that Philo invented all the stuff that he has handed down to us. Where we can test it, it accords fairly well with the other evidence. The epigraphic records are very scanty and ill understood; the more important of them will be found collected in the admirable handbook by Canon Cooke mentioned at the head of this article. Then there are also scattered passages and allusions in ancient writers, often

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of bad authority, which have to be pieced together and reinforced by somewhat speculative analogies. Perhaps the largest body of direct evidence is provided by the coins. They are like Sir Thomas Browne's urns: 'Time, which antiquates antiquities, and hath an art to make dust of all things, hath yet spared these minor monuments.' Their evidence, indeed, has up to the present remained practically unsifted; the few numismatists who have worked at these exceedingly difficult series have not cared to formulate their results for the benefit of the archaeologists; and the archaeologists who have remembered the existence of the coins have seldom had the training necessary for a proper appreciation of their merits and demerits as evidence.

That evidence of course concerns for the most part the external elements of the religion, such as the forms and places in which the deities were worshipped, and their attributes. The coinage begins about the end of the fifth century B.C. In this earliest period the local deities are represented in their Phoenician forms, although Greek influence may be discernible in the workmanship of the coins. But on the coins of the age succeeding the conquest by Alexander the old Phoenician forms become almost completely Hellenized. The local deities reappear in the guise of those Greek gods who seemed most nearly to resemble them. Melqart, the Tyrian solar deity, becomes Heracles; Eshmun is represented in the guise of Asclepios. On coins of the Roman domination there is a tendency for certain elements of the older Phoenician core to penetrate through the shell within which Hellenism had encased it. In the third century, especially in the reign of Elagabalus, who took a morbid interest in the weird religions of Syria and Phoenicia, the coinage is rich in representations of the local deities and their attributes. Soon after the middle of the century the coinage comes to an end.

It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the legend of Thammuz-Adonis is of Babylonian, even if not of still earlier origin. Yearly the beautiful god died, and the great goddess of reproduction, Ishtar, the Astarte of the Phoenicians, the Aphrodite of the Greeks, mourned him,

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and, until she succeeded in obtaining from the powers of the lower world the resurrection of her lover, the reproductive processes of nature were at a stand. Two cities in the eastern Mediterranean were especially famous for a worship which embodied this legend—Byblus (Gebal), in Phoenicia, and Paphos, in Cyprus. At Byblus the valley of the river Adonis (the Nahr Ibrahim) was full of spots sacred to the worship of the pair, and at its head, at Afka (the ancient Aphaca), are the remains of a great sanctuary. Every year the god's

> 'annual wound in Lebanon allur'd
> The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
> In amorous ditties, all a summer's day;
> While smooth Adonis from his native rock
> Ran purple to the sea, suppos'd with blood
> Of Thammuz yearly wounded.'

Even in the time of the author of the treatise *De Dea Syria* the explanation of the phenomenon was known. It was due to the red earth brought down from Lebanon by the stream. For details of the worship, the mourning, the resurrection, and all the appurtenances of the cult, the reader may be referred to Dr. Frazer's book.[1] Let us consider what may be discovered about Adonis from arguments other than those founded on the peculiarities of the ritual. Of the sacred city of Byblus its native Philo tells us that it was founded by Kronos (El) himself, who gave it to the goddess Baaltis, also called Dione. Of Adonis under that name he tells us nothing. But Renan discerns the god in *Elioun*, who with his sister *Berouth* is localized at Byblus in the account of Philo. Of Berouth we shall

[1] Quite recently the origin of the puzzling story in Plutarch's treatise on Oracles about the Egyptian pilot *Thamous*, to whom strange voices called from the shore that 'Great Pan is dead' (Πὰν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκε), has been ingeniously explained by a French scholar. The voices were really bewailing the death of Thammuz, and crying, Θαμοῦς ὁ πάμμεγας τέθνηκε. If the explanation is right—and few will doubt it—we have a striking instance of the way in which a simple occurrence is dressed up for popular consumption, and royalty (in this case the emperor Tiberius) made to bear a part in the story.

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hear more later on. Renan also, without doubt rightly, sees Adonis in the 'Heavenly Zeus,' who, like his consort, the 'Heavenly Goddess,' is mentioned in Byblian dedications. It is one of the instances of the way in which the evidence of the coins fails us that Adonis, in any certainly recognizable form, is not represented on any Byblian coin. We may make a guess that a conical fetich, generally identified with Astarte, is really Adonis, but it remains a guess; for the cone in question may as well represent Kronos. However this may be, Adonis was undoubtedly a deity of immense importance at Byblus. The name is by most writers acknowledged to be the Phoenician word *adon*, or 'lord'; as such there is no doubt that it would be used as we use the latter word, to denote a great deity.[1] We need not, therefore, quarrel with Dr. Frazer or anyone else for identifying Adonis with some local form or other of Baal. Now, taking the names of various kings of Byblus, like those mentioned in the famous inscription of King Yehaw-melek, Dr. Frazer argues, from names such as Yehaw-melek, Yehar-baal, and the like, that the kings of Byblus claimed affinity with their god Baal or Melek (Moloch). There is surely nothing more hazardous than to found a theory of this kind on the meaning of a proper name. Would Dr. Frazer infer from the names of private persons, such as Baal-shamar, Eshmun-adon, Amath-astart, that their owners claimed affinity with the deities whose names enter into these compounds? But he is fortified by an analogy, for there is no doubt that some other Semitic monarchs claimed affinity with their own gods. The

[1] *Adon* may be used much as the Greek word *kurios* is used; also it was a title of human beings, as of princes of the blood royal at Citium, in Cyprus, being the equivalent of the Greek *anax*. Thus, with its use as the name of the particular god Adonis, we have three senses of the word. It is obviously necessary to be careful in etymologizing with such materials. It may be worth while to mention here that Dümmler, who deals with Adonis in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie*, in an article which is a delightful mixture of dogmatism and scepticism, declines to accept as proved the etymology just mentioned, or the Semitic origin of the cult, and is most satisfactorily clear in his own mind as to what in the myth is primitive and what is not.

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further stages in the argument are these. If they claimed affinity with their god (who is identified with Adonis) they may have assumed the style of Adonis. It follows that they may have mated with the goddess, his consort, the Baalath or Astarte of the city. If then the Semitic king was allowed, or rather required, to personate the god (who is assumed to be a god of fertility) and marry the goddess, the intention of the custom can only have been to ensure the fertility of the land and the increase of men and cattle by means of homoeopathic magic, and so on.

The nature of the evidence is obviously such that it is impossible to say that Dr. Frazer is wrong in his argument, thin as it seems when reduced to its lowest terms. The argument is, however, an instance of the extreme fragility of the foundations on which it is necessary to build if we desire to explain everything by means of one theory. Sun-worship is under a cloud, the worship of crops and ghosts flourishes, in the theorizings of the present day. It seems difficult for any one writer to deal with the evidence without losing sight of the possibility that more than one aspect of nature can have claimed the adoration of the primitive mind at the same time. If that possibility were always kept in view, there would be more excuse for incidental theory-spinning, which is doubtless inevitable. Indeed, that some of the suggestions made in this article may be described by that name the writer would be the last to deny.

The legend of Adonis was at some time, possibly in the days when syncretism was rife, transferred to the god Eshmun, whom the Greeks seem to have identified with Asclepius. According to the Phoenician theogony Eshmun was the eighth of the Cabiri, the sons of Sadik, and was the most beautiful of the gods. He is represented as a youth standing between two serpents on the coins of Elagabalus struck at Berytus. There was an important temple of the god at Bostan-es-Sheikh, a suburb of Sidon, the remains of which have been laid bare in recent years and have provided inscriptions which are at once the delight and despair of students of Sidonian history. At Berytus, at Carne, at Marathus the coins also represent Eshmun in the guise of

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Asclepios. Possibly also the ovoid baetyl, or sacred stone, with a serpent twining round it, which we find on coins of Tyre, is his fetich. Whether he really was a healing god, and was not rather only equated with Asclepios because of his serpent attendants, may be doubted. But the fact that he was, in later times, identified with Adonis throws some light on a curious subject represented on coins of Roman date struck at Myra in Lycia, and at Aphrodisias in Caria. At the former place we find a tree, in the branches of which is a primitive cultus statue of a goddess. From its roots issue two serpents, defending it against two men who are seeking to cut it down with axes. It has always been recognized that this is the tree into which Myrrha, the mother of Adonis, was transformed when she fled from her father. He attacked the tree with an axe, and Adonis was born. Why the father is duplicated here we cannot say, but the two serpents, who were previously a puzzle, may reasonably be explained as the serpents of Eshmun. The primitive statue in the branches of the tree is of course Myrrha herself. At the Carian Aphrodisias only one of the two men uses an axe; the other is apparently running away. There are no serpents and no statue among the branches. The men, however, wear 'Phrygian' caps, shewing that they are Orientals. On another Aphrodisian coin Adonis himself is represented attacking the boar with a spear.

III.

To return to Phoenicia: If the numismatic evidence as to the cult of Adonis at Byblus is scanty, we know more of his consort Astarte. Baalath-Gebal, as she is called on the stele of Yehaw-melek, first appears on the coins about 100 B.C. as the city goddess, indistinguishable from the ordinary city Tyche, wearing mural crown and veil. On the coins of the imperial epoch she assumes here, as in most Phoenician cities, the conventional form with maritime attributes. As city goddess she wears the turreted crown; usually she holds a naval standard (consisting in its simplest form of a long staff with cruciform head), sometimes also

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an *aphlaston* or *aplustre*, the ornament which decorated the stern of the ancient ship. She is entering a ship—an act represented tachygraphically by making her stand with one foot on a prow—and to do so she raises with one hand the hem of her garment, so that it leaves one leg bare from the knee downwards. This gesture ought to be a fruitful subject for speculation among symbolism-mongers. Such is the commonest representation of Astarte on Roman coins of Phoenicia. The influence of the famous statue by Eutychides, which represented the city of Antioch as a beautiful woman seated on a rock, with the figure of a river-god swimming at her feet, dominated the plastic conception of Tyche in Northern Syria and many other parts of the world for centuries. But it could not penetrate into Phoenicia, thanks to the greater popularity of the local type of Astarte-Tyche. At Byblus her statue seems to have stood in a shell-niche in the temple. Beside the temple is sometimes placed the blade of a rudder; and this object, with the head of the goddess wearing the mural crown, represented on it in relief, also forms a coin-type by itself. It is not merely the rudder with which Tyche-Fortune guides the course of events; it is also the rudder with which the goddess controls the argosies of the city of Byblus.

But the most curious feature of the Astarte cult at Byblus is its contamination with the cult of the Egyptian Isis. Byblus, much more than any other Phoenician city, was from the earliest times closely connected with Egypt. On the site Renan found a fragment of a purely Egyptian relief with the heads of Isis and a Pharaoh, and there are numerous other Egyptian or Egyptianizing remains. On the monument of Yehaw-melek already mentioned Baalath-Gebal is represented as Isis. Plutarch tells us that at Byblus Astarte and Isis were one. Just so (with a difference) someone told the Pseudo-Lucian that it was not Adonis but Osiris that the people mourned at their annual festival. Finally we have the curious episode—the reader will find it given at length in Dr. Frazer's book—of the landing at Byblus of the coffin of Osiris, of the coming thither of Isis, of her service to the king (Malkandros or Malk-Addir)

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and queen (Astarte, Saosis, or Nemanun). Coins of the first century B.C. represent a goddess standing, heavily draped, and holding a sceptre. Like Baalath-Gebal on the stele of Yehaw-melek she wears the head-dress of Isis. Are we to call her Astarte or Isis? The head-dress of the Egyptian goddess forms by itself the type of a coin of the same century, with her name (ΕΙΣΙΣ) written beside it. Where we have Isis, there we may expect to meet with the rest of her 'crew.' Accordingly we find Harpocrates either alone, or with his mother, who holds him by the hand. In the Roman period the type of Isis Pharia—the goddess on a raft, holding a sail inflated by the wind—is also appropriately found. Finally we may note a curious piece of etymology enshrined in the lexicon of Stephanus of Byzantium. In deriving the name of Byblus he says: 'And some say that at Byblus Isis, when mourning Osiris, left her head-dress (*diadema*); and this was made of papyrus,' *i.e. byblos*. The etymology may be rubbish; but it suggests that some relic of the kind (like the head-dress represented on the coins) was preserved in the temple of Isis at Byblus. We know from another source that in that temple the Byblians kept and worshipped the trunk of the tree in which the coffin of Osiris had become enclosed before Isis found it.

Of the types of Roman coins at Byblus the most remarkable is a precinct, consisting of a temple with a large court attached to it. In the middle of the court rises a cone, surrounded by a lattice-work fence, with horns (the 'horns of consecration,' as Dr. Arthur Evans has identified them) at the corners. A star or sun in the field of the coin indicates the celestial nature of the deity represented by the cone. It is generally assumed that we have here the cone of Astarte. But the temple in which the figure of Astarte-Tyche is represented is of a very different type. Of course there may well have been several temples of the goddess in her various aspects. Nevertheless we may hazard the conjecture (already mentioned above) that in this cone we have the baetyl of one of the other great deities of Byblus, either Kronos (El) or Adonis himself. 'Different baetyls,' says Damascius, 'are consecrate to different gods, Kronos,

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Zeus, the Sun, &c.' The cone has, it is true, a general resemblance to those which represented the goddess Aphrodite-Astarte at Paphos and at the Cilician Aphrodisias.[1] But it is as great a mistake to identify all cones with this goddess, as it is to suppose that all stones representing her, or her congeners, were conical. Thus the *anassa*[2] of Perga in Pamphylia (a nature goddess who, although the Greeks called her Artemis, was probably much nearer to Astarte) was represented by a fetich which at first sight appears to be conical. Closer examination of the coins on which it is figured shews that it was a cube, or at any rate rectangular in section. On the top of this was placed a head, surmounted by a tall cylindrical *polos* head-dress, and the veil and other decorations depending therefrom give the whole a deceptively conical appearance.

The meaning of the cone, as Dr. Frazer remarks, is as obscure now as it was in the days of Tacitus. Neither phallic nor pillar theory seems to have much in its favour. As regards the non-conical stones, however, there is a mass of evidence shewing that they were aerolites, and the deities which they represented, such as Elagabal, Zeus Kasios, and other mountain gods, were of a celestial nature. Now this worship is very primitive and has nothing to do with a worship of vegetation deities.

Phoenicia boasted many other representations of Astarte. Macrobius gives a description of the *simulacrum* of 'Venus Architis,' *i.e.* the Astarte of Caesarea-Arca, in the Lebanon, the city of the Arkites mentioned in the book of Genesis. 'The image of this goddess on Mount Libanus is fashioned with veiled head and sad countenance, resting her face on her left hand, which is within her cloak; as you look you seem to see tears flowing down her face.' It is seldom

[1] To this city, with much probability, are now attributed the primitive coins with a winged deity (Kronos) on one side and a conical baetyl on the other. The writer has shewn elsewhere that they cannot possibly belong to Mallus. Dr. Frazer's combinations of the types on these coins with others of Mallus will not therefore hold. Cf. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, second edition, p. 132, and note.

[2] The masculine of this word, *anax*, of course suggests comparison with the Phoenician *adon*.

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that a coin type corresponds accurately to a description of a monument by an ancient writer. But in this case, on the coins of Caesarea-Arca, we have everything reproduced save the imaginary tears! The left hand, on which the goddess rests her cheek, is seen just uncovered by the ample veil which falls from her head like a garment. She wears a spreading, basket-shaped *polos*, such as is characteristic of so many primitive deities. Her sceptre is beside her; it is topped by a bird, which is doubtless a dove. It is needless to remind ourselves of the association of doves with the cult of Astarte. On some specimens her celestial character is emphasized by placing her between sun and moon. The words of Macrobius—'simulacrum huius deae in monte Libano fingitur,' &c.—suggest that the image was not of the ordinary kind, but a rock-cut figure, like another weeping goddess, the Niobe of Mount Sipylus. If so an architectural frame of some kind sheltered the figure; for on the coins it is shewn under an arch, supported by columns or pilasters, with human busts as capitals. In front appears to be a balustrade to keep off the crowd. Dr. Frazer (following a somewhat uncertain passage of Renan) conjectures that Macrobius is describing the figure which Renan and others have seen carved on the rock at Ghineh. Ghineh is, however, nowhere near Arca,[1] and the attitude of the figure in the Aphrodite and Adonis relief there does not seem in any way to correspond with Macrobius' description.

The Astarte of Sidon is generally supposed to be represented by an object contained in a shrine, which could be transported from place to place on wheels. Such a *ναὸς ζυγοφορούμενος*, we are told by Philo, was used by the Phoenicians for a deity named *Agroueros* or *Agrotes*, whose image they regarded with the utmost reverence, and who at Byblus was called especially the greatest of the gods. The wheeled shrine at Sidon is decorated with palm branches. The representation of the sacred object is unfortunately obscure: it seems to be spherical; often

[1] Selden's emendation of *Architidis* to *Aphacitidis* is disproved by the correspondence between the coins and Macrobius' description.

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there appears above it a sort of flat capital (sometimes doubled), resembling the cap of the cone at Paphos; sometimes it is surmounted by an inverted crescent. Curved objects spring from beside it; they may be horns of consecration, or a lunar crescent. Finally on some specimens there seem to be small figures beside the pedestal on which it is placed, and these figures suggest sphinxes. All this is very vague, but on the whole it points to the object being either the disk and horns of Isis or a representation of sun and moon, or else, most probable of all, a spherical baetyl, such a 'heaven-fallen star'—*ἀεροπετὴς ἀστήρ*—as Astarte, according to Philo, picked up and consecrated in the sanctuary at Tyre.

We may leave on one side, as involving a disputed *rapprochement*, the type of Europa on the bull, which is frequently identified with Astarte. There cannot, however, be much doubt that the goddess riding on a lion which occurs at Sidon is a form of Astarte. With Astarte in this or connected forms, and with her male consort, we may now proceed to deal.

IV.

There are certain remarkable coins, of the late fourth century B.C., bearing the name of Alexander in Aramaic, which represent and name a goddess 'Atheh. On one of the two coins the goddess is shewn seated on a lion; on the other we have her head. The same name goes to form part of the compound *Atargatis* ('Athar-'Atheh), which is preserved also in the less correct form *Derketo*. Atargatis is the great goddess of Hierapolis-Bambyce, a goddess who, by a duplication which we shall see to be the rule in Phoenicia, was in some places especially celestial, in others (as at Ascalon) marine. Dr. Frazer accepts the old and certainly erroneous attribution of the coins with the lion goddess to Tarsus,[1] but they must belong to some North

[1] *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, second edition, p. 129, and note. The Tyche of Tarsus, as represented on later coins, may possibly be the primitive local goddess in a new guise; but the lion's leg of the chair on which she sits can no more be associated with a primitive lion-

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Syrian mint, possibly to Hierapolis itself. In Phoenicia itself we meet with scattered evidence of various kinds relating to the lion deity, whether male or female. The lion, in antiquity, it must be borne in mind, seems almost always, like the eagle, to have a solar connexion. Votive lions are found in considerable numbers in Phoenicia: such are the two which Renan describes at Halalieh, with dedications to the Mountain Zeus. In the hills above Antaradus (Tartus) at Husn Suleiman are the remains of the great sanctuary of Baitokaike. The local deity here is called Zeus, the God of Heaven, the Holy Zeus of Heaven, &c. His celestial nature is illustrated by reliefs from the site. On one is an eagle holding a caduceus, flanked by two figures which have been conjectured to represent the morning and evening stars. On the north face of the *enceinte* are two reliefs, one representing a lion, the other a lion standing before a cypress. The cypress is well known to be a symbol of the 'Syrian Goddess'; here then it presumably represents the consort of the god of Baitokaike. The sanctuary was in the territory of Aradus, and on Aradian coins of the third century of our era we find a cypress between a bull and a lion; above the lion's head is a star or sun. We know from the Pseudo-Lucian's tract already referred to that lions and oxen were among the animals sacred to her. At Meshta, two hours from Husn Suleiman, is or was an altar with reliefs representing a lion and a bull garlanded for sacrifice, each before an altar. These facts indicate that cypress, bull, and lion were sacred to the goddess of Baitokaike, the consort of Zeus Baitokaikeus, just as they were to the 'Syrian goddess,' and the partial identity of the two deities may be reasonably inferred. But there is another curious type on late coins of Aradus which may

steed than it can in the case of the seat of the priest of Dionysus Eleuthereus in the theatre at Athens. As bearing on Dr. Frazer's identification of the gods of Olba and Corycus with the Baal of Tarsus, a god of fertility, we may note the following small point: the Zeus of Diocaesarea, who is without doubt the god of Olba, seems to be primarily a god of prosperity, since the word *olbos* is written against his figure on one of the Diocaesarean coins.

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also be connected with the goddess, viz. a large vase flanked by two palm branches and by two sphinxes back to back. These monsters shew that the representation has some religious significance, and it is interesting to note that on a relief from Byblus, bearing a dedication to 'the Heavenly Goddess,' we have a vase represented between two creatures which may be—so much damaged is the stone—either lions or sphinxes. Palm branches were also used, as we have seen, to decorate the portable shrine of Astarte at Sidon. Of the sphinx we know that to the Greeks it had a distinct connexion, for reasons now obscure to us, with Aphrodite and deities such as the 'Artemis' of Perga, who partake of the nature of Astarte. We have already seen that something like sphinxes may be traced as supporters of the object representing Astarte in the portable shrine of Sidon. For what the vase on the Aradian coins was used we can hardly say; it is too hazardous a conjecture that it is one of the vases filled with sea water which are described in the *De Dea Syria* as being used for libations.

Corresponding to the sanctuary of Baitokaike above Aradus was a sanctuary—its ancient name is unknown—at Der el Qal'a, in the Lebanon above Berytus. The god of this sanctuary was Baalmarcod. The most important extant dedication to him dates—like most of the inscriptions which give us any information of the kind—from the third century of our era: it is to 'the Holy God Bal and the Goddess Hera and the Goddess Sima and the Younger Hera.' To these names in Greek correspond a string of Latin initials which have been explained (with a fair presumption of certainty) as 'To Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Balmarcod, and Juno Regina and Juno Sima, and the Heavenly Sohaemia'—the last being the deified mother of Elagabalus. In other inscriptions Balmarcod is called Gennaios, and also Megrin. Juno Regina, or Hera, is obviously his consort. Gennaios does not seem to be merely an *epitheton ornans*. It is known as the proper name of a deity at Heliopolis, whom Damascius describes as taking the form of a lion. One Eusebius of Emesa professed to have seen a lion-shaped mass of flame fall on a mountain;

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he discovered there a round stone, which (finding a voice) informed him that it belonged to the God Gennaios. The interest of this portentous story is that it shews that Gennaios was a deity of celestial character. The name seems also to be connected with the god Genneas, who may be seen on a Palmyrene relief in the Louvre mounted on a horse—a sort of a Helios Ephippos. Now on late coins of Berytus (of the third century of our era) we find a lion with his head surmounted by a globe. Like the globe held by the sun god in ancient art, and like the star or sun above the head of the lion on the coins of Aradus, this characterizes him as solar. Have we here an attribute or an actual hypostasis of Baalmarcod? Or is the beast an attribute of his consort, 'Hera'-Astarte? Among the symbols associated with the temple of Astarte on late coins of Berytus is a lion. Not much stress can be laid on this fact, since other symbols, such as a galley, seem not to refer directly to the goddess under whose shrine they are placed. But we may take it that the lion on the coins of Berytus is connected either with Baalmarcod or with his consort, Astarte, or with both. There was, it is true, a subordinate cult of the Heliopolitan Zeus at Berytus, and the lion deity Gennaios, already mentioned, is said by Damascius to have been worshipped in the temple of Zeus at Heliopolis. It might, therefore, be maintained that the Berytian lion belongs not to the local but to the Heliopolitan Baal. It seems, however, more reasonable to assume that both gods are forms of the same god, with similar attributes. The lion deity is also recorded at Kafr-Nebo, twelve or thirteen hours from Aleppo, in a dedication of 223 A.D. 'to Seimios and Symbetylos and Leon.' Seimios must be connected with the Sima of the other dedication mentioned above; Symbetylos suggests one of the baetyl deities so common in this district.

A few more scattered references to the celestial nature of these deities may be quoted, though they by no means exhaust the stock. The reference to Astarte in the inscription of Eshmun-'azar, king of Sidon, has by some been translated 'Astarte of the glorious heavens' or 'Astarte of

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the heaven of Baal.' On this rendering, which is doubtful, we must not insist. To Herodotus Astarte was Aphrodite-Urania; to Jeremiah she was Queen of Heaven. To come down to a later period, from the neighbourhood of Byblus we have such dedications as this: 'to Zeus the Heavenly, the Highest, the God of Saarna, the Helper.' At Mashnaka (near the Adonis valley) is a cippus which bears on one side a *radiate* bust of Baal, on the others thunderbolts. Among late writers both Macrobius and Martianus Capella identify Adonis with the sun; but their evidence on such a point is worth little. Further details of this kind may be collected by anyone who likes to take the trouble.

V.

But there is yet another side to this heavenly picture. Berytus, like Byblus, was one of the foundations of Kronos, who gave it to Poseidon and to the Cabiri.[1] Here is a distinct tradition that Berytus was the city of Poseidon, a tradition entirely borne out by other evidence. Thus the Greek Poseidon is a most important type on the coins, and at Berytus was localized the legend of Poseidon and Beroe (an Oceanid, by one account; according to another, the daughter of Aphrodite and Adonis). The love of the nymph Beroe was sought by both Poseidon and Dionysus, and the former conquered. The legend is perhaps of late origin (it is given at great length by Nonnus, though there is no reason to suppose that he entirely invented it). Since Berytus was famous not only for its marine trade, but also for its wine and raisins, it may well be that the legend symbolizes the struggle between the two parties in the population associated with the two chief industries—that it is, in fact, a parallel to the legend of the contest between Athena and Poseidon at Athens. The Berytians assimilated the story of Beroe to that of Amymone, and a type of the Roman period represents Poseidon surprising her as she draws water at a fountain. That this type is not a mere fancy

[1] 'Αγρόται τε καὶ 'Αλιεῦσιν, οἱ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πόντου λείψανα εἰς τὴν Βηρυτὸν ἀφιέρωσαν. Philo, quoted by Eusebius.

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of the die engraver is proved by the appearance of the group as an architectural decoration on the temple of Astarte as represented on other coins.

Who was this nymph Beroe? Stephanus of Byzantium records that the Phoenician word *berouti* means fish. Philo gives the name *Berouth* to a Phoenician goddess, the sister of Elioun, who is connected with Byblus. In this goddess Berouth we may reasonably recognize a fish-goddess who gave her name to—or obtained her name from—Berytus. The word Berytus seems also to be connected with 'water,' and has been compared with the Gibeonite Beeroth ('wells'); for the same Stephanus vouches for the word *ber* meaning 'well' in Phoenician. This etymology obviously in no way contradicts the connexion of a fish-goddess with Berytus.

Now if the name Berytus is connected with the goddess Berouth, and with wells and water, we have some light on the nymph Beroe. She is the eponymous nymph of Berytus (Nonnus even calls the city by her name), and, what is more, she is a water-nymph. Is it too speculative to find in her a Hellenized and humanized representation of the fish-goddess of Berytus, with Poseidon, the Hellenized local fish-god, as her consort? If we are right, we have in this pair a marine couple corresponding to the celestial couple who are worshipped in the hills above the city.[1]

Turn now to Aradus. On coins dating from the late fifth century B.C., and down to the time of Alexander the Great, we have a marine deity. He is human from the waist upwards, but *desinit in piscem*. In each hand he swings a dolphin by the tail. (The sea-horse and dolphin as his attendant creatures also appear as adjuncts on other early Aradian coins.) A similar monster appears on a silver coin which has been attributed, although without certainty, to Ascalon. Dagon is the name usually given to the Aradian monster, but recent criticism, we believe, hesitates to acknowledge 'that twice batter'd god of Palestine' as

[1] It seems doubtful whether the Baal-Berith of Shechem (Judges viii. 33, &c.), whose name is generally explained as 'God of the Covenant,' has anything to do with the god of Berytus.

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a fish-god. The larger coins of Aradus represent the head of a deity, bearded and crowned with laurel. Most writers have distinguished this deity from the fish-god, and regarded him as Melqart, the Phoenician Heracles. But it is a general principle that a Phoenician deity who appears on early Phoenician coins is replaced, on the later coins of post-Alexandrine date, by his nearest counterpart in Greek religion. Thus Melqart would be replaced by Heracles, whereas the chief god of the later Aradian coins is either Poseidon or Zeus. It is best to call the laurel-crowned deity Baal-Arvad and to reserve our opinion as to the question of his complete identity with the fish-god. But this much is certain, that a deity of great importance to the Aradians was a fishy monster.[1]

The post-Alexandrine coins of Aradus afford a good instance of the Hellenizing of the old types, and the resultant difficulty in identification. A remarkable silver coin of the second century B.C. represents the head of the Greek Poseidon on one side and a figure of the Greek Zeus on the other. On the strength of this coin it has been urged that the bearded head, which is one of the commonest types on other Aradian coins, is also Poseidon; and where a bearded and a female head appear side by side the god and goddess have been called Poseidon and Amphitrite. But the undoubted head of Poseidon is differentiated by a wreath made of a marine plant (*Fucus vesiculosus* ?). Since these other heads have no such *differentia* the obvious inference is that they are not the heads of marine deities. We may reasonably call them Zeus and Hera, remembering that they are only the local Baal and Astarte in their non-marine character.

The correspondence between the celestial and the marine deity is also found at Tyre in the god Melqart-Heracles. In one capacity he is represented riding upon

[1] The 'Ascalonian goddess'—if that be the right reading, which is very doubtful—mentioned in an inscription of Baitokaike may be the Ascalonian Atargatis; but if so, judging by the analogy of the other cults at this sanctuary, it is not in her character of fish-goddess but as a celestial deity that she appears there.

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a sea-horse; while the epithet Astrochiton, applied to the Tyrian Heracles, picturesquely indicates his other celestial aspect.

VI.

Sufficient evidence has, we think, been brought together to shew the double capacity in which the Phoenician Baal and Astarte served their worshippers, at least during a certain period of Phoenician history. It may, of course, be argued that nearly all the evidence which has been adduced belongs to a late period; that, as Mr. Cooke points out, Baal-shamem, the Baal of Heaven, who has a general universal character, is a late development, and not parallel to the earlier Baalim who were connected with the earth and with special localities. Further, it may be said that numismatic evidence is of an official character, and that official representatives, when interrogated as to the real meaning of their religion, answer according to their lights and not in the archaeological or anthropological spirit. All this is true; yet it can hardly be denied that the Phoenicians had from the beginning their celestial Baal and Astarte as well as, if not to the exclusion of, their marine ones; and it may be doubted whether the deities of Byblus differed in any essential quality from those of the other cities, although their ritual may have been modified there by certain external influences. Whatever may have been the origin of these cults, whatever their inner meaning, yet in the seven or eight centuries during which we know most of Phoenician civilization, the gods seem to have been consciously worshipped as marine or as celestial deities. Of course if none of the worshippers of Adonis knew that he was a vegetation god the greater credit is due to the modern investigators who have discovered his real nature.

If only we could be confident that it *is* his real nature that the investigators have discovered! What is it, in nearly all books which present a definite theory as the explanation of the religious practices and beliefs of ancient or primitive man, that leaves a feeling of discomfort in the reader's mind, however brilliant and lucid the exposition

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may have been? It is not that the author is dealing with a stated hypothesis. Without an hypothesis of some sort even a *vindemiatio prima* of the facts cannot be attempted. It is rather the underlying but hardly realized hypothesis that the mind of primitive man is simple and not complex, that its attitude to God and Nature can be explained from any one point of view. As soon as the champion of sun-worship or tree-worship is charged with making such an assumption he recognizes, as a rule, how easily he may be misled; and promising himself that he will watch his steps, he proceeds on his way, with what results we know. The problem is, indeed, complex. In the particular case before us a solution can only be deemed entirely satisfactory which will explain why the Baal of Byblus became differentiated from his brother Baalim of other cities of the Phoenician coast; or, if the worship of a vegetation deity is primary, and not secondary, why all traces of vegetation-worship disappeared, so far as we know, from the cults in the Phoenician cities other than Byblus. We have seen that these extra-Byblian cults present a certain uniformity of character; it is natural to conclude, therefore, that they go back to an archetype. The Byblian cult seems to present certain analogies with the others; are these analogies later accretions, superimposed on a quite different religion, or are they the remains of the original form which was modified by some external, presumably Babylonian influence? Dr. Frazer, who has given us so much, may think us ungrateful if we return him more riddles to answer; but he must suffer the penalty of having written a more than ordinarily suggestive book.

G. F. HILL.

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ART. VII.—FATHERS AND SONS.

1. *Father and Son.* A Study of Two Temperaments. (London: Heinemann, 1907.)
2. *The Child's Garden of Verses.* By ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1885.)

THERE is something peculiarly fascinating to men and women of all classes and nearly all temperaments in the records of childhood. Whatever else we are or may become, one thing is quite certain—that we have all of us been children, and thus have a common ground of sympathy, because there is a kind of freemasonry in childhood before sex-differences become dominant, and where class-differences and religious and political distinctions are much less felt than in our riper years. We turn, therefore, with keen interest to the quasi-autobiographical portions of *Jane Eyre* or *David Copperfield*, to the early recollections which abound in the pages of Charles Lamb, and to the fascinating early chapters of *The Mill on the Floss*. On the whole these readings lead us to doubt whether childhood is such a 'golden time' as the poets sometimes call it. The terrors felt by children are more overwhelming, because less capable of being reasoned away, than those of their elders. Somehow or other the 'strong situations,' which are the delight of the sensational novelist, have much less power to make one's flesh creep than Charlotte Brontë's description of her confinement in that cold, dreary, empty bedroom so vividly brought before us in *Jane Eyre*. Readers of the early chapters of *Great Expectations* may recall a somewhat similar feeling, and Stevenson's *Child's Garden of Verses* has one or two unforgettable passages of the same kind.

> 'The shadow of the balusters, the shadow of the lamp,
> The shadow of the child that goes to bed;
> All the wicked shadows coming, tramp, tramp, tramp,
> With the black night overhead.'

Have any of us advanced so far in grown-up life as to forget these weird, eerie sensations?

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That the book before us should have met with a wide circle of readers is therefore not surprising. It gives us, with photographic realism, the account of a very unusual childhood, the childhood of a boy in whom the artistic temperament and love for beauty was strong, passed amid surroundings which seem, to our ideas, of almost inconceivable rigidity and narrowness, the parents being Plymouth Brethren.

The father was a well-known and distinguished naturalist. The mother, who died early, had evidently been endowed by Nature with considerable imaginative charm, which she deemed it her duty to repress, as inconsistent with truth.

'When I was a very little child,' she says, 'I used to amuse myself and my brothers and sisters with inventing stories such as I read . . . this soon became the chief pleasure of my life. Unfortunately, my brothers were always fond of encouraging this propensity, and I found in Taylor, my maid, a still greater tempter. I had not known there was any harm in it until Miss Shore [a Calvinist governess], finding it out, lectured me severely and told me it was wicked. From that time forth I considered that to invent a story of any kind was a sin. . . . Even now [at the age of twenty-nine], tho' watched, prayed, and striven against, this is the sin that still most easily besets me.'

A case very similar to this was that of Jacqueline, the sister of Blaise Pascal, whose girlish brilliancy and poetical promise had delighted Cardinal Richelieu and Corneille, but who, on entering Port Royal, was led to believe that poetical composition (unless of a strictly religious kind) was a sin to be renounced.[1] In the case before us one hardly knows which to pity more, the mother who put such an unnatural and unnecessary force upon herself, or the child, who says, 'Never, in all my early childhood, did anyone address to me the affecting preamble, "Once upon a time." I was told about missionaries, but never about pirates; I was familiar with humming-birds, but I had never heard of fairies. Jack the Giant-Killer, Rumpelstiltskin, and Robin

[1] See her life by Victor Cousin. Ed. 1856, p. 138.

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Hood were not of my acquaintance, and though I understood about wolves, Little Red Ridinghood was a stranger even by name.' In the same way, at a later period, the author of these reminiscences was allowed to read Shakespeare, as a school lesson, but as soon as he began to be interested in *The Merchant of Venice* the book was taken away. There is something rather touching about his first introduction to Vergil (of course as a Latin lesson), and of his father's recitation of the first Eclogue. 'And then, in the twilight, as he shut the volume at last, oblivious of my presence, he began to murmur and to chant the adorable verses by memory.

'Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi,'

he warbled; and I stopped my play, and listened as if to a nightingale, till he reached

'Tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra
Formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas.'

. . . a miracle had been revealed to me, the incalculable, the amazing beauty which could exist in the sound of verses. . . . I persuaded my Father, who was a little astonished at my insistence, to repeat the lines over and over again. At last my brain caught them, and . . . as I hung over the tidal pools at the edge of the sea, all my inner being used to ring out with the sound of

'Formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas.'

At the age of eight, after his mother's death, the author went with his father to live at Oddicombe, in Devonshire, and thus describes his first sight of the sea:

'We hastened . . . along a couple of high-walled lanes, when suddenly, far below us, in an immense arc of light, there stretched the enormous plain of waters. We had but to cross a step or two of downs, when the hollow sides of the great limestone cove yawned at our feet, descending, like a broken cup, down, down to the moon of snow-white shingle and the expanse of blue-green sea.'

After a vehement lamentation over Oddicombe 'in these twentieth-century days,' when 'a careful municipality has studded the down with rustic seats and has shut its

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dangers out with railings'—alas, how many municipalities have done the same by many other Oddicombes!—he continues:

'Very different was it fifty years ago, in its uncouth majesty. No road, save the merest goat-path, led down its concave wilderness, in which loose furze-bushes and untrimmed brambles wantoned into the likeness of trees, each draped in audacious tissue of wild clematis. Through this fantastic maze the traveller wound his way, led by little other clue than the instinct of descent.'

Another passage, which the naturalist will read, almost with tears in his eyes, describes the once-beautiful rock-pools of Devonshire. We venture to quote it at some length for the sake of its beauty, and in the hope that it will move the reader to study the book further for himself:

'There is nothing, now, where in our days there was so much. Then the rocks between tide and tide were submarine gardens of a beauty that seemed often to be fabulous, and was positively delusive, since, if we delicately lifted the weed-curtains of a windless pool, though we might for a moment see its sides and floor paven with living blossoms, ivory-white, rosy-red, orange and amethyst, yet all that panoply would melt away furled into the hollow rock, if we so much as dropped a pebble in to disturb the magic dream. . . .

'The tide-line was, like Keats' Grecian vase, "a still unravished bride of quietness." These cups and basins were always full, whether the tide was high or low, and the only way in which they were affected was that twice in the twenty-four hours they were replenished by cold streams from the great sea, and then twice were left brimming to be vivified by the temperate movement of the upper air. They were living flower-beds, so exquisite in their perfection that my Father, in spite of his scientific requirements, used not seldom to pause before he began to rifle them, ejaculating that it was indeed a pity to disturb such congregated beauty. The antiquity of these rock-pools, and the infinite succession of the soft and radiant forms, sea-anemones, sea-weeds, shells, fishes, which had inhabited them, undisturbed since the creation of the world, used to occupy my Father's fancy. We burst in, he used to say, where no one had ever thought of intruding before; and if

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the Garden of Eden had been situate in Devonshire, Adam and Eve, stepping lightly down to bathe in the rainbow-coloured spray, would have seen the identical sights that we now saw,—the great prawns gliding like transparent launches, *anthea* waving in the twilight its thick white waxen tentacles, and the fronds of the dulse faintly streaming on the water, like huge red banners in some reverted atmosphere.'

There is something tragic in the irony that the very popularity gained by the books for the sake of which the naturalist and his little son ventured with reverent care to handle these treasures should have helped to the destruction of the scenes they loved.

'All this is long over, and done with. The ring of living beauty drawn about our shores was a very thin and fragile one. It had existed all those centuries solely in consequence of the indifference, the blissful ignorance of man. These rock-basins, fringed by corallines, filled with still water almost as pellucid as the upper air itself, thronged with beautiful sensitive forms of life—they exist no longer . . . An army of "collectors" has passed over them, and ravaged every corner of them. . . . No one will see again on the shore of England what I saw in my early childhood, the submarine vision of dark rocks, speckled and starred with an infinite variety of colour, and streamed over by silken flags of royal crimson and purple.'

At about this period the great strife between the 'orthodox' and the modern school of geologists was at its height, and the father of our author, who believed firmly in the most literal interpretation of Genesis, went through a time of indescribable misery on account of the frustration of his attempts to 'reconcile' scientific investigation with what he believed to be Divine truth. We get pathetic glimpses of him during this period, and it does not add to the cheerfulness of the picture to be told that the principal topic (of a recreative kind) between himself and his little boy of eight, during their cosy fireside evenings, was Murders, especially the hideous story of Mrs. Manning, which was then occupying the public mind. We cannot resist transcribing

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one serio-comic episode—much more serious than comic, however, to the poor little victim :

'On Christmas day of this year 1857 our villa saw a very unusual sight. My Father had given strictest charge that no difference whatever was to be made in our meals on that day; the dinner was to be neither more copious than usual nor less so. He was obeyed, but the servants, secretly rebellious, made a small plum-pudding for themselves. . . . Early in the afternoon [they] remarked that "the poor dear child ought to have a bit, anyhow," and wheedled me into the kitchen, where I ate a slice of plum-pudding. Shortly I began to feel that pain inside which in my frail state was inevitable, and my conscience smote me violently. At length I could bear my spiritual anguish no longer, and bursting into the study I called out "Oh! Papa, Papa, I have eaten of flesh offered to idols!" It took some time, between my sobs, to explain what had happened. Then my Father sternly said, "Where is the accursed thing?" I explained that as much as was left of it was still on the kitchen table. He took me by the hand, and ran with me into the midst of the startled servants . . . and with the plate in one hand, and me still tight in the other, ran till we reached the dust-heap, when he flung the idolatrous confectionery on to the middle of the ashes, and then raked it deep down into the mass.'

Such a narrative as this makes one thankful to read that not long afterwards the father married again. (During the interval his son had been baptized by immersion 'as an adult' at ten years old.) The stepmother seems to have been a charming woman, and the first months after this second marriage are among the pleasantest to read of. She interfered judiciously where the boy's health was concerned, and her husband even went so far as to read Sir Walter Scott's poems aloud while she worked. He did not mind the poems, but he drew the line at the novels, one does not quite see why.

Though originally a member of the 'so-called Church of England,' she consented to receive baptism by immersion, but that she was still human may be shewn by the following

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anecdote. A Mrs. Paget, a member of the congregation, accused 'my poor stepmother,' so the narrative runs,

'of displaying "an overweening love of dress." The accusation was perfectly false; my stepmother was, if rather richly, always plainly dressed, in the sober Quaker mode; almost her only ornament was a large carnelian brooch, set in flowered flat gold. To this the envenomed Paget drew my Father's attention, as "likely to lead 'the little ones of the flock' into temptation." My poor Father felt it his duty, thus directly admonished, to speak to my Mother. "Do you not think, my Love, that you should, as one who sets an example to others, discard the wearing of that gaudy brooch?" "One must fasten one's collar with something, I suppose?" "Well, but how does Sister Paget fasten her collar?" "Sister Paget," replied my Mother, stung at last into rejoinder, "fastens her collar with a pin—and that is a thing I would rather die than do!"'

The carnelian brooch was evidently Mrs. G——'s 'last ditch,' and we cannot but admire, and we feel that we shall have the sympathy of all women readers in doing so, the spirit with which she defended it. We trust it may be still in existence, a venerated relic of the moral courage of its owner.

We shall not attempt to trace here the story of the writer's gradual emancipation from the circle of religious ideas in which he was brought up. It was only finally completed in his twenty-second year, and the steps which led to it were traversed with exquisite pain both by father and son. As a record of the belief and usages of the religious community who called themselves 'the Brethren' simply, a title enlarged by the world outside into 'Plymouth Brethren,' the book is an historical document of the highest value. But it is also something more. The two portraits of the naturalist and his son are drawn with an insight into thought and feeling and a delicacy of touch with which the author's training, painful and difficult as it was in many ways, has endowed him in a special degree. That a son should minutely dissect and describe his father's character has in it for many minds something naturally repellent, even though the picture be shielded by a tenuous veil of

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anonymity. And yet frank and unflinching as is the son's analysis of his father's temperament and his own, we gladly confess—and we believe that our impression will be shared by most readers—that we lay aside the book with a very real and sincere respect for the older man; and without that, if we have read the book aright, its author would have counted even the achievement of a literary masterpiece a poor reward for his labour.

As we replace the book on its shelf, two questions seem to arise in our minds. First, What is the real legitimate relation between religion and the things of this life? and secondly, How far does early religious training benefit those who, in their maturity, come to give up much of what they have been taught in childhood?

One can imagine an intelligent youth saying to himself as he emerges from boyhood, Why did God make so many things interesting unless He intended someone to take an interest in them? Surely, therefore, this *is* the case. So far as the works of Nature went, this much was conceded even by the father already mentioned, who was an ardent student of Nature, within his own limited field, as illustrating the Divine wisdom and power. But why, it might have been retorted, are we to stop short at sea-anemones, or humming-birds, or conchology, or 'natural history' of any kind? After all, 'the proper study of mankind is man.' Are we to suppose that the Almighty made men capable of music, art, poetry, and dramatic imitation, merely that they should stunt their own developement in these directions? To do so would almost be to deny, or at least to stultify, the first article of our creed. God surely meant man to have a sense of humour, to delight in acting, dancing, athletics, and the like. Nay, our very passions, as Butler has shewn, have their place in God's creation; our very appetites are necessary for existence. It is not the use, but the abuse of such things that is reprehended by Him 'Who giveth us richly all things to enjoy.'

If we study the lives of the greatest saints, ever since the days when Moses became learned 'in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,' we shall find that they have been men of

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large worldly experience, like St. Paul and St. Augustine, men widely read and with a long and varied acquaintance with Life. So we find that Christianity itself descended on a world which had been trained by Jewish symbolism, and Greek thought, and Roman organization. The very language of the New Testament presupposes an intelligent, many-sided audience, ready to comprehend allusions to every conceivable kind of earthly occupation, amusement, or social relation. The religion of Christ was to be a consecration of life, but not a mutilation. It aimed at self-control, not self-enfeeblement. May we be allowed, in this connexion, to quote once more a well-known passage in Milton's *Areopagitica* (23) :

'As therefore the state of man now is ; what wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear, without the knowledge of evil ? . . . I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue unexercised, and unbreathed, that never sallies out and seeks her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world ; we bring impurity much rather ; that which purifies us is trial, and trial by what is contrary. That virtue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure ; her whiteness is but an excremental whiteness ; which was the reason why our sage and serious poet, Spenser (whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas), describing true temperance under the person of Guion, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon, and the power of earthly bliss, that he might see and know, and yet abstain.'

It is quite true that there comes a time in the life of every holy man when he feels, as well as professes to believe, that the things which are seen are temporal and the things which are not seen are eternal, and that he must set his affections on things above. But he has to go through an apprenticeship among the 'things that are seen' before he can live, habitually at least, among 'the things that are not seen.' In the pathetic account of the death of Sir

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Walter Scott, when someone offered to read to him, and asked what book he would wish, he replied, 'Need you ask? There is but one,' and St. John xiv. was accordingly read to him. But supposing he had had to live his life over again in the light of his dying feelings, and those words had been interpreted by some member of a narrow religious sect (like those in the volume now before us) in an absolutely literal sense, would Scott have pleased God better, or done more good to his generation, if he had turned his back on all the old chroniclers and historians, all the old poems and ballads, the Border tales, the plays and romances, the out-of-door sports, and the quaint experiences of his Edinburgh life, which formed the raw material of his wonderful productions? Yet if he had been a 'saint' of the Plymouth type, this, we suppose, would have been held out to him as the only alternative to the loss of his immortal soul.[1]

It seems as if to us human beings religion were like light, which is not known to be light till it has something to shine upon (like the particles in our own atmosphere or the solid bodies of our earth). An abstract, mystical religion is almost an impossibility for most of us. Our religion must have some practical 'content'; and this is furnished by the life and movement, the joys and sorrows, of daily existence. Many people who cannot think of the Almighty in abstract terms have no difficulty in realizing Him when the cry of Joseph, in some moment of strong temptation, rises to their lips, 'How can I do this great wickedness and sin against God?' With regard to children this is eminently the case. As our Catechism puts it, 'First, I learn to believe in God the Father, Who hath made me and all the world.' A child starts from himself, the one thing of whose existence he cannot doubt. How did he come into being? Because God made him. How did

[1] At the time of the Shakespeare Tercentenary, an excited orator in some Evangelical conference is described as calling Shakespeare 'a lost soul, now suffering for his sins in hell.' It is but fair to say that our author's father disapproved of this unjustifiable language (*Father and Son*, p. 323).

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other things come into being? Because God made them. Here is something he can understand, just as he can understand that if he is good he fulfils his Maker's will and purpose, and not if he is wicked. Everything in this concrete life is therefore at once presented to him with, if one may say so, the light of God shining upon it, and every fresh expedition he makes into the phenomenal world, every fresh relation he explores in intercourse with his fellow-creatures, every idea presented to his mind is brought into judgement by that light. But he is led to take an interest in this wonderful world, with all its gradually unfolding parables of higher things; he is not led to express premature longings for another life, which we doubt if any normal, healthy child ever feels, unless he has been put into a kind of spiritual forcing-house. Such a training usually does more harm than good in the long run, and makes him too often either hysterical or hypocritical, as the case may be.

It may be added that there is a class of sensitive and 'highly strung' persons to whom a certain playfulness and sense of humour is given as a kind of elastic medium, like the straw or paper in which fragile articles are packed, to preserve them from the sharp concussion of the severe and often terrible truths and realities of life. This was eminently the case with Charles Lamb, and it was the tragedy of Cowper's history that the need of such a relief was so little recognized by some of those with whom he had to do.

Human nature, as a rule, cannot bear a very heavy strain, especially in childhood; and in the case of *Father and Son* our only wonder is that the boy whose early life is there described grew up eventually into a sane and capable man. Even in a darkened room the sunshine does sometimes filter in through the most unexpected chinks, and in the present case *Tom Cringle's Log*, of all books in the world, seems to have done this benign office. It was given to the lad at the age of eleven to illustrate the geography of the West Indies, with the advice from his father 'to read the descriptions of the sea, and of the mountains of Jamaica, and "skip" the pages which gave imaginary adven-

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tures and conversations. But I did not take his counsel; these latter were the flower of the book to me. I had never read, never dreamed anything like them, and they filled my whole horizon with glory and with joy.'

Leaving therefore our hero in happy possession of his first work of fiction (for we can hardly place in that category the fragments of a story which he read, at an earlier date, pasted as lining to a hair trunk in the lumber-room), let us proceed to our second question: 'How far does early religious training benefit those who in their maturity come to give up much of what they have been taught in childhood?'

If we examine the lives of such persons we shall find a great contrast between men who (as Lord Macaulay said of himself) have been brought up 'in the straitest sect' of religion by sincere and earnest Christians, and those who, like Voltaire, have had a lasting impression of cruelty exercised in the name of religion left upon their minds (as in the history of the Calas family), or, like Gibbon at Oxford, have been disgusted by the slackness and self-indulgence of so-called Christian teachers. When once an impression of devotion to something above oneself, of earnestness and self-sacrifice, has been left on a young mind, it is rarely, if ever, that this ultimate residuum of religion is lost. Lord Macaulay, for instance, soon found the swaddling-clothes of Evangelicalism too strait to hold him, but he never lost his grasp on the essentials of religion. The language he uses about religious matters is almost invariably reverent, and seems to come from one to whom those things are no matter of indifference. His biographer notes how he always loved to spend his Easters in a cathedral town; and the whole tone of his diaries has an under-current of religious feeling, as well as of exceptional kindness of heart. It is a pleasure to think that the last act of that busy pen was to sign a letter to a poor curate, enclosing twenty-five pounds, 'after which,' says his biographer, 'he never wrote again.'[1]

[1] *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ch. xv.

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'A man, again, like Matthew Arnold gave up a good deal of the religion in which he had been educated; though we believe that he was a communicant still at intervals in the services of our Church, whatever interpretation he may have privately put on the rite. But he never lost his interest in religious matters, nor his sense of the spiritual beauty which religion brings with it (witness his exquisite sketch of Eugénie de Guérin), and every page of his writings, as well as the whole tenor of his life, shew that he lived in an atmosphere of moral purity, love of truth and beauty, uprightness, and high-mindedness. In other words, religion had done something for him which could never be undone. It seems as if there were in certain well-known English families a religious instinct—or shall we say an earnest thoughtfulness or some great spiritual and mental activity? —which makes one member of it perhaps an agnostic, another a Roman Catholic (or possibly the same man or woman both in succession), which shews itself sometimes in Evangelicalism, sometimes in a 'philosophic' attitude, sometimes in philanthropic zeal, but which must have some kind of outlet. As Pope says:

> 'The same adust complexion has impelled
> Charles to the convent, Philip to the field.'[1]

In the case, for instance, of Lord Herbert of Cherbury and his brother George, the author of *The Temple*, we see amid much that is dissimilar a strong vein of resemblance. The same might be said of John Henry and Francis Newman, and, in a less degree, of John and Charles Wesley and of James and Harriet Martineau. In Mark Pattison and his 'Sister Dora' one might almost suppose that the diversity was accentuated by the relationship; and so in a way it was, especially when we remember that one was a woman of fine physique and most attractive personality, and the other had the irritability and uneven spirits of a dyspeptic student; but there was a certain independence and waywardness as well as 'distinction' about them both which took very different directions, and yet might very well have

[1] *Moral Essays*, i.

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had a common source: or, to change the figure, man is often like a pendulum; the very force of its swing in one direction is the measure of what it will take in another. An agnostic is often a religious man turned the wrong way. He is usually very far from indifferent to religion. In some cases he may be like the character described by Keble in his poem on St. Thomas's Day:

> 'With eyes too tremblingly awake
> To bear with dimness for Christ's sake.'

In other words, he dares not trust himself to believe, just because the alternative to unbelief is such a tempting one that he is afraid of being biased. We read of the mental anguish with which 'George Eliot,' after a study of Strauss' *Leben Jesu*, tore herself from what remained of her Christian faith—a faith which, it may be added, she had too often seen travestied by Calvinism; and we know that throughout her life Christianity never ceased to have an interest and an attraction for her, and that the *Imitation of Christ* was probably one of the last books she read before her death. Much the same might be said of her friend and admirer, Henry Sidgwick, who, in spite of religious 'difficulties' rendered more 'difficult' by the attitude of the popular Christianity of his day to questions which in the last twenty years have met with a somewhat different treatment, yet in his own personal character reflected (is it too much to say?) no faint traces of the Christlike nature, and never lost his sense of the beauty of Christianity, even when he could not see his way to subscribe to Creeds and Articles. We are told[1] that he expressed his own sentiments as regards breaking with the Church in lines adapted from Tennyson's *Palace of Art*:

> 'Yet pull not down my minster towers, that were
> So gravely, gloriously wrought;
> Perchance I may return with others there
> When I have cleared my thought.'

But there is all the difference in the world between an

[1] *Life of Henry Sidgwick*, chap. iii. *ad fin.*

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'agnostic' of this type and the mere careless *bon vivant* who has never had any 'doubts' because he has never troubled himself to think seriously. The *Clouds* of Aristophanes is notoriously unfair to Socrates, but there is more than a grain of truth in the instinct which makes the poet place the 'fast' young man on the same side as the supposed sceptic. A sceptic is one who thinks and reasons; but the true sceptic, the genuine 'honest doubter,' very often has, however unwillingly, a number of shallow 'false sceptics' in his train, who never really trouble themselves to enquire about anything, but gladly seize on the excuse thus given them for breaking asunder the bonds and casting away the cords of any religion which interferes with their careless, self-pleasing lives.

It does not come into our present province to discuss the evidences for the truth of Christianity; but we think, however men may differ on that subject, most of them must agree that the fruits of Christianity, the influence of Christianity, have conferred incalculable benefits on mankind. And we have still to learn how the fruits are to be obtained independently of the tree, or the influence without the faith which inspired it. Not the least important, however, of the morals to be drawn from this book is the warning to religious men and women to set their religion in an attractive light to the younger generation, and, indeed, to all who surround them. How much the world owes to the charm, for instance, of St. Francis de Sales, or to men of the type of Sir Thomas More, who are, happily, still sometimes to be found in this flat and dreary world; and how many people, again, must have been set against religion by the unsympathetic attitude, the hardness and narrowness of which this book offers so apt an illustration!

At the present moment, when the air is full of anxious whispers and forebodings as to the future of religious education, are we not more and more thrown back upon the need of home religion? The late Professor Conington, who, like Matthew Arnold and Henry Sidgwick, lived at a moment when difficulties of belief were rife among educated men, used, we have heard, to tell his pupils that when all

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was said and done he had no better advice to give them than that they should cling to the simple religious faith which had been taught them at their mothers' knees. May we not say that in our own day the need of home religion is a crying one? The tendency to drop family prayers, to secularize Sundays, to leave off reading the Scriptures with our children, is frequently animadverted upon in our religious Press, and surely not without reason.

Who that has read Burns' *Cottar's Saturday Night* does not feel that the memory of such scenes as that would cling to a man through all the vicissitudes of life? Deeper, far deeper, down in our being than controversy can reach is this simple love of God and goodness, this simple faith in and dependence on Christ,[1] which will carry a man through crises of unspeakable difficulty and be the one thing left to come between him and despair, the rope to which he clings when 'the waters have come in, even unto his soul.' And we would fain believe that whenever the heart has been really in earnest, however mistaken the methods, however tasteless the mode of presentation, however narrow the surroundings, such sincere devotion is never thrown away. In the end we all come back to one or two great fundamental questions about God and about duty, about love and immortality, and the heart's answer to these is the clue we hold to amid the tedious perplexities of the labyrinth of life. And it is because Christianity places this clue in our hands with greater firmness and certainty than any

[1] At the very moment these lines are being written, the following comes from the West Hamstead Colliery (March 13, 1908), the scene of the late disastrous fire:

'A search party have just come to bank. They have traversed practically the whole of the south works, and have found six of the missing men. They were found lying at a door in a peaceful attitude, and on a board was found written in chalk,

"The Lord preserve us."

Then follow the names of the men:—H. Curtis, J. Guest, H. Watts, T. Cole, T. Johnson, Joe Hodgkiss, and the words,

"For we are all trusting in Christ."'

Comment on such an utterance is surely needless.

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other belief or system of thought can do that we feel there are, at all events, certain arguments in its favour which are more potent than all the 'difficulties' and 'objections' which lie hidden in the dust-covered volumes of the past, or are to be found in more modern shapes, but not essentially very unlike the old ones, in the heated discussions of the present hour. No dazzling intellectual power, no eloquence impresses us so much in the long run as the life of a man or woman, however humble, who is willing to sacrifice self and all that the world has to offer for the sake of what is right, however imperfectly apprehended. Even if such earnestness has a petty, perhaps a ludicrous side, there is something about it which compels our respect; and happy are they who, with more brilliant gifts and wider opportunities, have among their childish experiences learnt the one great lesson such characters afford.

ART. VIII.—THE NEW ELEPHANTINÊ PAPYRI.

Drei Aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine. Von EDUARD SACHAU. Aus den 'Abhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften' vom Jahre 1907. (Berlin, 1907; neudruck 1908.)

I.

IN an article on *The Assuan Papyri* in this Review for January 1907 some account was given of certain newly found documents in Aramaic relating to a Jewish colony in Egypt in the fifth century B.C. That valuable discovery has quite recently been reinforced by one still more remarkable. The fortunate discoverer was Dr. Otto Rubensohn, who in the publication before us gives a brief account of the details. The papyri were found early last year in the course of excavations under the mound which covers the site of Elephantinê (Yeb), the island-city of the Nile, near the First Cataract and opposite to Assuan. It is not always easy to imagine how ancient cities were

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'buried'; and why excavations which seem natural at Herculaneum—or will do so when they begin!—have also to be carried on in places free from volcanic displacements. To get down to Roman London we have to scratch off some ten feet or more of superimposed buildings or earth. But similar processes at Elephantinê are quite understandable. The River of Egypt, which 'rises up and sinks again' (Amos viii. 8, ix. 5), has by its alluvial deposits piled up several feet of soil on the top of what was level ground twenty-three centuries ago.[1] Here the papyri were found, and possibly the 'Assuan' series came from the same spot.[2] Dr. Eduard Sachau, the famous Semitic scholar at Berlin, deciphered, transcribed, and edited them with great skill, and his admirable volume is a very valuable addition to the rapidly increasing pile of works dealing with Semitic palaeography. The form of publication suggests comparison with that of the Assuan Papyri. The latter included complete facsimiles together with the transcription and notes, all contained in a huge portfolio and costing a guinea. Dr. Sachau's book is a handy volume with one facsimile (in the new edition this is conveniently divided into two sheets) reproducing the whole of Papyrus I., and the cost is half-a-crown. It is not surprising that the first edition was quickly out of print, and probably the new issue will be in great demand. The learning and genius expended on the publication of both series is of that high value not to be reckoned by either half-crowns or guineas.

The Assuan Papyri, consisting of legal documents relating to property, contained two incidental references to a Jewish place of worship situated in King's Way, Elephantinê (Yeb).[3] The term used presented some difficulty, since in other Aramaic writings it means an altar. Professor Sayce and Mr. Cowley, however, considered it probable that here the word must signify *chapel* or *shrine*.[4] Their conjecture

[1] Sir T. Gardner Wilkinson: *Ancient Egyptians* (ed. Birch), 1878, vol. ii. 432f.

[2] Sachau, *op. cit.* p. 45. *C.Q.R.* Jan. 1907, p. 383.

[3] *Assuan Papyri*: Sayce-Cowley, E 14, J 6.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 41. Cf. *C.Q.R.* Jan. 1907, p. 401.

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was right, and might have been even bolder. In the Elephantinê Papyri the same word indicates not an altar merely, nor even an enclosed shrine, but a large Temple[1]; and here without let or hindrance the Jews had offered sacrifice to Jehovah (YHW) since B.C. 525 at the latest, and probably for years before that. In view of the definite centralization of sacrificial worship at Jerusalem by the law of the single sanctuary, this fact, taken together with the very numerous points of contact between the Papyri and the Old Testament, is such as to render the discovery one of the highest importance. Dr. Driver has called special attention to these Papyri, and some of our readers will have read with pleasure and profit his interesting account of them in *The Guardian*.[2] Other specialists have also examined and discussed the documents. The aim of the present writer is in the main illustrative rather than critical.

II.

The second of the three papyri is little more than a duplicate of the first. The series therefore essentially comprises two documents. The first is a lengthy petition of the Jews for state intervention against their enemies. The second (Papyrus III.) is a memorandum of the favourable result of their appeal.[3]

The petition is sent by 'Yedonyah and his companions the priests' in Elephantinê (Yeb) to Bagohî, the Governor of Judah at Jerusalem. (Palestine and Egypt alike were at this time under the sway of Persia.) The greeting is one of true Oriental exuberance:—

'May our Lord the God of Heaven abundantly give greeting[4] at all times, and grant thee mercy in the presence of Dāryôhôsh, the King and the Sons of the House, a thousand-fold more than

[1] In Pap. iii. 'Altar House.' [2] *Guardian*, Nov. 6, 1907, p. 1827f.

[3] The translation here given differs in a few instances from that of Dr. Sachau in view of recent discussion of the terms concerned.

[4] An unusual phrase in such a context, recalling the expression in Gen. xliii. 27, &c. *Cf.* Ps. cxxii. 6, R.V. Marg.

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now, and give thee long life. Mayest thou be happy and well at all times.'

Then the petitioners proceed with their *gravamen* :—

'Now thy servants Yedonyah and his companions thus speak. In the month of Tammuz in the xivth year of Dāryôhôsh the King, when Arsham had departed and had gone to the King, the idol-priests of the god Chnub in Yeb the Fortress [were] in alliance with Waidrang who was Commandant here saying "The Temple of YHW the God, which is in Yeb the Fortress shall be removed thence." Whereupon this Waidrang the (?) accursed sent letters to Nephayan his son who was Captain-of-the-Garrison in Sûn the Fortress saying "The Temple which is in Yeb the Fortress is to be destroyed." Whereupon Nephayan conducted the Egyptians with other forces. They came to the Fortress Yeb with their (?) gang. They came up into this Temple and destroyed it to the ground, and the pillars of stone which were there they brake.'

The interpretation of every detail in the two following lines is not quite certain; but the general sense is clear. The petition states that the enemy demolished the five gates, built of hewn stone, and destroyed the building by fire, taking away the gold and silver bowls and other portable property. The outrage was resented all the more bitterly by the Jews because the worship of Jehovah had continued for more than a century as a *religio licita* only now to suffer persecution at the hands of local foes.

'And from the days of the king(s) of Egypt our fathers had built this Temple in Yeb the Fortress. And when Kanbûzî entered Egypt this Temple he found built. And the Temples of the gods of Egypt were all overthrown, but no man injured aught in this Temple.'

Bitter indeed was the grief of the entire Jewish community at this calamity.

'We with our wives and children have put on sackcloth, and fasted and prayed to YHW the Lord of Heaven.'

A swift Nemesis, however, overtook the foe. The Jews came to hear of certain misdeeds on the part of Waidrang

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and in the result the Commandant was disgraced. The particulars are not stated,[1] but the overthrow of the enemy was complete.

'And all the men who wished evil against this Temple are slain, and we have looked upon them.'

Immediately after the Temple was destroyed the petitioners had sent a letter to Bagohî, and to Yehôchanan the High Priest and other influential people in Jerusalem, but no reply had been received. The petition proceeds to describe the gloom into which the community had been plunged. Ever since the outrage had occurred

'To this day we have put on sackcloth and fasted; our wives have become like widows; we have not anointed ourselves with oil nor drunk wine.'

The sacrificial worship had of course been perforce discontinued. No 'meal-offerings, frankincense, or burnt-offerings' had been offered. And now they appeal to Bagohî to help them; and the petition is a very representative one, for, in addition to the persons named above, in the heading, we now find 'all the citizens of Yeb' included. Their prayer is:—

'If it seem good to our Lord, take thought for this Temple that it may be built, because we are not allowed to build it. Look upon the recipients of thy goodness and thy mercy who are here in Egypt. May a letter be sent from thee to them concerning the Temple of YHW the God that it may be built in Yeb the Fortress as it was built in former times.'

In return, Bagohî's petitioners 'will ever pray.' They would offer meal-offerings, frankincense and burnt-offerings upon the altar in Bagohî's name; and all—men, women, and children—would pray for him. And their gratitude would take a substantial form. The particular amount is

[1] This is a pity, for it seems strange that Waidrang could be successfully resisted, unless perhaps his senior officer, Arsham, had returned to Egypt, which is unlikely in view of line 30, where it is stated that Arsham is unaware of the outrage.

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of somewhat uncertain interpretation; it was apparently very great.[1]

The petition closes with a reference to a letter they have sent recounting their troubles to 'Delayah and Shelemyah, the sons of Sanaballat the Governor of Samaria.' And as if to guard against a possible reluctance, due to official etiquette, on the part of Bagohî to interfere in the matter they add

'Arsham also has no knowledge of all this that has been done unto us.'

The petition is dated Marcheshwan the 20th in the seventeenth year of Dāryôhôsh.

The ambassador bearing this petition received a favourable reply. Papyrus III. is a 'Memorandum of what Bagohî and Delayah said to me.'

'Memorandum as follows: Thou art to say in Egypt in the presence of Arsham concerning the Altar-House of the God of Heaven which in Yeb the Fortress was built before our time, before Kanbûzî, which Waidrang this (?) accursed had destroyed in the fourteenth year of Dāryôhôsh the King, that it is to be built in its place as it was aforetime, and meal-offerings and frankincense shall be offered upon this altar as previously used to be done.'

III.

There is much of interest in all the proper names mentioned in the Papyri—whether of place, time, or person. The Divine Name YHW (Jehovah), the names Elephantinê or Yeb, and Assuan or Syene (Sûn) were noticed in our former article.[2] Tammuz and Marcheshwan are the well-known extra-Biblical Jewish names for the fourth and eighth months, answering to July and November.[3] The chief persons named can for the most part be easily identi-

[1] *Infra*, p. 169, note 3.

[2] *C.Q.R.* Jan. 1907, p. 382.

[3] Both words seem to be, ultimately, of Babylonian origin, though they are not very easily recognized in *Du-u-zu* and *A-ra-aḫ sam-na*. The Canaanite name for the latter was *Bûl*, as found in 1 Kings vi. 38. *Encycl. Bibl.*, ii. 3193f.

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fied. Kanbûzî is the Persian King Cambyses, who subdued Egypt in 525 B.C. Darius (Daryôhôsh=the 'Dārĕyáwesh' of Daniel, &c.) must surely be the second of that name, commonly known as Darius Nothus. It has, indeed, been suggested[1] that he was Darius Ochus, known also as Artaxerxes III., and that Bagohî was the Bagoas who reconquered Egypt. In that case the Papyri would date from B.C. 342, not from 408. But the two sets of names must be carefully distinguished.[2] It seems clear that the Elephantinê series is immediately subsequent to that of Assuan, of which K is dated 411. A Jew named Yedonyah appears in both series; and, notably, so does Waidrang,[3] who in both is mentioned as holding the same office in the same town. It is, doubtless, possible that sixty years later another man of the same name held the same office; the coincidence would fall into line with that as to the two persons known as Darius and the two known as Bagohî. But there is no need to assume such a coincidence, and there is much to make it most improbable. The Assuan Papyri extended over a period of sixty years previous to 411. Papyrus A of that series is dated in the reign of Xerxes. Then follow documents dated in that of Artaxerxes, then Darius. The sequence is unmistakeable, and the Elephantinê Papyri can quite confidently be ascribed to B.C. 408–407. The last dated Assuan Papyrus K (L being undated) was written in 411, the year which witnessed the destruction of the Temple at Yeb.

Bagohî is clearly the Bagoses of Josephus.[4] The Jewish historian was hazy as to the Persian kings, but apparently Bagohî's governorship at Jerusalem was commenced under Darius II. and continued into the reign of Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon). Josephus refers to him in connexion with a tragic occurrence in the Temple at Jerusalem not earlier

[1] E. B. Birks: *Guardian*, Dec. 18, 1907, p. 2113. [2] Sachau, p. 17.

[3] Sayce-Cowley, *op. cit.* H 4, J 2, 4. Too much weight must not be attached to the mention of Yedonyah, the name probably being a common one amongst Jews. *Cf.* Israel Lévi: *Rev. des Études Juives*, Oct. 1907, p. 162.

[4] *Antiquities of the Jews*, Lib. XI. c. vii. § 1.

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than the first year of Artaxerxes II (B.C. 404). Jeshua or Jesus, a brother of the very same High Priest mentioned in our Papyri, Yehôchanan, wished to secure the High Priesthood for himself, and in an altercation between the two men Jesus died in the Temple at the hands of his own brother. Now the murdered man had been a *perṣona grata* with Bagohî, and the latter shewed his indignation and resentment by persecuting the Jews and polluting the Temple. This was in, or subsequent to, the year 404. Our petition is dated four years earlier, at a time when Bagohî would be quite likely to grant a request made by the co-religionists of his friend Jesus. Later on assuredly the petition would have been cast aside in wrath.[1] That such a petition should be sent at all by Jews so far away from Jerusalem is notable, and has not, so far as we have observed, been adequately discussed. How could a Governor in Palestine issue edicts to a Governor in Egypt? But that is what undoubtedly happened. In the MSS. of the Septuagint the name Bagohî occurs in many different forms. In Hebrew it is nearly identical with Bigvai (Neh. x. 16), who indeed, Dr. Redpath considers, may have been actually the person appealed to in the petition.[2] The supposition seems negatived by what Josephus tells us. Bagohî can hardly have been a Jew.

Sanballat is the well-known enemy of the Jews mentioned in Nehemiah (Neh. ii. 10, 19; iv. 1, 7; vi. 1–14; xiii. 28). From the petition we learn that he was Governor of Samaria, but it is doubtful if he was alive, or at any rate in office, in 408.[3] The appeal is made to his sons, who were perhaps more friendly to the Jews than their father had been. It is interesting to note that their sister was married to a nephew of Yehôchanan.[4] Incidentally, we may observe that the occurrence of the name Sanaballat (the form is that in which it occurs in LXX. and Josephus) in this Papyrus

[1] Sachau, p. 17. Had Bagohî previously been their benefactor? See line 23, 'recipients of thy goodness.'

[2] *Guardian*, Nov. 13, 1907, p. 1876.

[3] Barth, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Bd. xxi., p. 189.

[4] Cf. Neh. xii. 23; xiii. 28.

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effectually disposes of a Jerahmeelite conjecture on the part of Dr. Cheyne. The North Arabian theory leads him to say: 'There is considerable reason for questioning the name "Sanballat." Very possibly it is the coinage of the redactor; the original name may have been Nebaiothi (man of Nebaioth).'[1] But this Papyrus proves that the original name was what the Bible says it was.

Ostan, one of the nobles appealed to soon after the outrage at Yeb, is thought by Dr. Sachau[2] to be identical with the 'Ananî mentioned along with him. In this case Ostan would be the Persian name, 'Ananî the Hebrew name. Barth, however, points out[3] that the Aramaic expression would be different, and renders the words 'to Ostan the brother of 'Ananî' instead of—as Sachau has it—'to Ostan his [Yehôchanan's] brother, who is 'Ananî.' The Persian name might perhaps be owing to some Government appointment. In any case it seems possible that 'Ananî may be the noble mentioned in 1 Chron. iii. 24 among the descendants of the royal line of David.[4] Arsham, or Arsam, seems clearly to be the Arxames mentioned by Ctesias as Governor of Egypt under Darius II.[5]

IV.

From the excellent photograph of Papyrus I. we see that the script is quite like that of the Assuan series. It is a useful reminder of the fact, sometimes forgotten, that we possess no Biblical writings in the script used by the authors. Only some extremely late recension can have been written in the square character, and if, as we may now reasonably hope, any originals or early copies of the sacred writings are discovered, it can confidently be predicted that they will be found written in a script not very different from that used in these Papyri. As compared with earlier

[1] *Encycl. Bibl.* ii. 4281.

[2] P. 33. So Driver in *The Guardian*, p. 1828.

[3] *Zeitschrift*, p. 193f. [4] Barth, *l.c.*

[5] Sachau, p. 20. So Driver, *ubi supra*, p. 1827. See *Ctesiae Fragmenta de Rebus Persicis*, ed. Müller.

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inscriptions it shews a distinct approximation to the square character. The Papyri are well preserved, and shew that, given good writing materials—such as the ancient world took care to procure—a dry climate, and an airtight rubbish heap, there need hardly be any limit to the existence of MSS.

The method of writing down Aramaic numbers was mentioned in our former article.[1] It seems a pity that Dr. Sachau has had to use the Hebrew ר to indicate the number 'ten,' for it is very unlike the Aramaic *resh* appearing in the same transcription. As compared with the same sign in the Assuan Papyri it is here formed more boldly, and recalls—as does the rest of the numeration-method—the notation of the Hieroglyphics.[2] A curious slip was made in counting the number of gates in the ruined temple. Dr. Sachau gave it as seven. The strokes are five and no more. The error escaped notice for some time, and while the most acute *savants* throughout Europe were discussing in scientific journals the intricacies of Aramaic syntax and vocabulary the arithmetic was 'taken as read.' In the second edition the correction duly appears.

It is outside our present purpose to enter into the details of textual criticism,[3] but some mention should

[1] *C.Q.R.* Jan. 1907, p. 385.

[2] Cf. *National Encyclopaedia*, vol. x. Plate I. 'Numerals.

[3] An exception must be made in regard to I. 10, where Sachau leaves קימו untranslated. The word before this he gives as ורשיהם, but Barth (*Zeitschrift*, p. 192) thinks that ר should be ד, and the word reads accordingly דשיהם. He conjectures further that קימו should be taken as קַיְמִין. This would give 'their doors of wood,' agreeing well with the word in line 11 printed by Sachau בששיא, but taken as דשיא by Fraenkel (v. i. note 3), by Cowley (*Guardian*, *ubi supra*, p. 1828) and by Barth (*l.c.*); the latter points out that the expression fits in well with the following one נחש...צירוהם, 'their hinges . . . . of bronze.' The word צירוהם however is uncertain. The writer has been favoured with a communication from Mr. Cowley, in which he says: 'It looks to me like בין ידיהם.' A comparison of the צ in other lines supports Mr. Cowley's contention. Could ידיהם then possibly = B H ידותם as found *e.g.* 1 Kings vii. 35? And could קימו = קַיְמוּ or be intended for אֲקִימוּ to intimate a lifting-up of the doors bodily from their supports for the sake of the נחש so significantly mentioned in connexion therewith? The fate of the doors would thus be in contrast with that of the rest of

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be made of the phraseology of the documents. This re-echoes wonderfully the Old Testament. The very first word is a Hebraism,[1] and indeed it would not be difficult to believe that the writer was a Hebrew using Aramaic, and not a native Aramaean, even if we had not the subject-matter as a guide.[2] For some out of numerous Biblical parallels take such expressions as 'grant thee mercy in the sight of,' 'we have fasted and prayed,' 'we have looked (*i.e.* seen our desire) upon [the enemy],' 'if it seem good unto.' The word for 'governor' is the same not merely in the Aramaic sections of Ezra and Daniel, but in more than a score of passages in the Hebrew Scriptures (particularly the post-exilic books).[3] The word for 'companions' occurs eight times in Ezra. The 'fortress' or 'garrison' is the 'palace' of Neh. i. 1 (RV. *cf.* RV. marg.).[4] The phrase 'God of Heaven' is 'a post-exilic expression often used in converse with heathen, or placed in their mouth.'[5] The word of uncertain meaning rendered 'wall' in Ezra v. 3, 9 reappears here. So does the well-known term for sacrificial 'bason' (*mizrāq*). A word meaning 'take thought for' occurs as an Aramaism in Jonah i. 6. The word rendered 'citizens' is the same as that in the expression 'men of Shechem' in Judges ix. 2 &c. 'Memorandum' is the 'record' of Ezra vi. 2, spelt with a *z* for a *d*, as usual in Egypto-Aramaic. (AV. is there misleading. 'Record' is the first word in the 'roll,' as here.)

the building, which was burned. For such a use of אקימו (or הקימו) cf. Dan. vii. 5 (*Baer*, &c.) and R.V. marg. Pael might conceivably = Haphel. The converse use appears in Dan. vi. 16.

[1] 'To' our lord Bagohî is לאל, represented elsewhere in Aramaic by לע. Cf. Nöldeke: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Bd. xxi. p. 197. 'Saying' (l.7) is the Hebrew לאמר as in the Assuan Papyri.

[2] Cf. Fraenkel's remark (*re* the Papyrus in *Corpus Inscript. Semit.* II. i. 145) in *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1907, No. 24, p. 659).

[3] In other works the occurrence of *Péchah* may be due to subsequent redaction. We note with interest that in Salkinson-Ginsburg's Hebrew New Testament the word is used for ἡγεμών in Matt. xxviii. 14. Delitzsch merely transliterates *hegemôn*.

[4] *Cf.* note as to *Birtâ* in *C.Q.R.* Jan. 1907, p. 384.

[5] Driver, *Literature of the Old Testament*, 6th ed. p. 533.

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V.

What was the true inwardness of this attack upon the Temple of Jehovah? There are perhaps three points to be noted.

(1) The Jewish colony'[1] at Yeb had become wealthy. This is clear from the Assuan Papyri[2] and from the documents before us. The Temple had five stone gates, the roof was of cedar throughout, the sacred vessels were of gold and silver. To Bagohî is promised a *douceur* evidently very large,[3] and in spite of all their losses the Jews wish to rebuild their ruined sanctuary immediately.

(2) Thus there was something to rouse the cupidity of the unscrupulous; and not merely the cupidity of ordinary plunderers but of two chief magistrates and the priests of one of the most venerable cults in Egypt. Unscrupulous the priests of Chnub undoubtedly were, and so were Waidrang and Nephayan. It is a very curious fact that in the Strasburg Papyrus we have—and in a petition too—a recital of other misdeeds by this same unholy alliance. In the same year 411, when they destroyed the Temple, it appears that they cut off the water supply at Yeb by stopping up the wells. It is stated that the mischief was wrought by the priests in consort with Waidrang

[1] The origin of the colony is not known. Dr. Redpath (*Guardian*, Nov. 13, 1907, p. 1876) thinks they were Samaritans. Mr. Hollis (*ibid.* Nov. 27, p. 1954) suggests Jehoahaz (2 Kings xxiii. 34), B.C. 608. We see no sufficient grounds for modifying the view taken in our previous article (p. 387), which dates it 586. And how can Dr. Redpath think it 'incredible that they could be pure-bred Jews' when they appeal to Yehôchanan and the priests at Jerusalem?

[2] *C.Q.R.* Jan. 1907, p. 393.

[3] Sachau leaves כנכר (line 28) untranslated, but see his note p. 36. It certainly looks like כִּכָּר 'talent.' Mr. F. Ll. Griffith (*Guardian*, Nov. 13, 1907, p. 1876) identifies it as such, the term *Kinkôr* being 'well known in demotic Egyptian . . . and in Coptic.' 'The 1,000 talents thus promised is an enormous sum, approximating to the tribute of the richest satrapies.' Mr. Griffith also suggests that the money may have been intended for a rebuilding fund, or for disarming opposition at Jerusalem, or as a bribe to Bagohî; such a sum being 'sufficient, one would think, for all three objects' (*ib.*).

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in the absence of Arsham. Clearly the times were unsettled, and the Jews in particular had to suffer from the spiritual wickedness in high places represented by Waidrang and his thievish gang.[1]

(3) But may there not have been a further reason than cupidity? Religious animosity would account for such an outrage. And surely it would be very natural if this feeling developed between the Jewish monotheists and their pagan, idolatrous neighbours in Yeb. The Jews of the Return had learnt their lesson; and the idolatry they had been only too ready to coquette with was now shunned. The very nomenclature of idolatry was changed. Images now were 'vanity,' 'lies,' and things inspiring disgust.[2] Doubtless the monotheistic fervour characteristic of the Return should not be expected from a Jewish colony in Egypt. The Jewess Mibhtachyah swears by Sati.[3] But it would be surprising if the contemporaries and co-religionists of Nehemiah were uninfluenced by such a drastic reformation as had taken place in the city so venerated by every Jew, especially as the Egyptian colony kept itself in touch with Palestine, the home-land.

And Egyptian religion was likely to rouse contempt in the minds of monotheists. The number of gods is so large that Le Page Renouf lost count of them.[4] Professor Flinders Petrie persevered and reached a total of 'about 438.'[5] This Pantheon included 'gods many and lords many,'

[1] The terms לחיא (i. 7, iii. 6) and כלביא (i. 16), applied to Waidrang, are left untranslated by Sachau, who (p. 25 f.) thinks they might mean 'from Lechi' (*cf.* Ramath Lehi, Judg. xv. 9, 17) and 'of the house of Caleb' ('Calebite,' *cf.* 1 Sam. xxv. 3). These renderings seem less probable than those of Barth and Nöldeke (both in *Zeitschrift*, as above, pp. 190 f. 200), who take כלביא not as a patronymic but as an uncomplimentary epithet, 'dog,' and similarly the unfamiliar לחיא as 'accursed.' Cf. also I. Lévi: *op. cit.* p. 157.

[2] G. F. Moore: *Encycl. Bibl.*, *s.vv.* 'Idol' § 2, 'Idolatry' § 9. In the Papyri Jehovah's priests are *Kâhdnayyâ* (Heb. *Kôhânîm*), while Chnub's priests are *Kumrayyâ* (Heb. *Kĕmârîm*). Cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 5, Hos. x. 5, Zeph. i. 4.

[3] *C.Q.R.* Jan. 1907, p. 400. [4] *Hibbert Lectures*, 1879, p. 85.

[5] *Rel. and Consc. in Ancient Egypt*, p. 70.

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ranging from cats and crocodiles to such abstractions as the 'spirit of writing.' To contempt succeeds derision. Indeed, later on Egyptian religion may almost be said to have roused universal amusement among Christians and pagans alike.[1]

There were undoubtedly beautiful elements in Egyptian religion. But the grotesque is much in evidence, and no wonder: Egypt owed its religion largely to the primeval negro and his fetich.[2] Cults would rise, fall into disuse, and revive. Locality determined the various forms of faith, and happily that of Elephantinê is well known. The place was extremely ancient, and was even thought to have been the earliest city inhabited by man.[3] Worship was there paid to a triad[4] of divinities—Chnub, Sati, and Anqet. Of this triad Chnub[5] was one of the earliest Egyptian gods. The name appears to come from a root meaning 'to build' or 'join.' He was thus the 'builder' of gods and men,[6] but is invested with various attributes, and appears in various guises and disguises. Usually he has the head of a flat-horned ram, or several such heads[7]; he wears a white crown with plume or disc, or a serpent[8]; and he holds a sceptre and an emblem of life. He also appears as a water-god, the patron divinity of Nile[9]; and, by way of variety, is represented as a hawk. He is sometimes in blue, sometimes in red.[10] Chnub is the soul of the world. His female counterpart is Sati, and Anqet is a local Nubian goddess.[11] In the pictorial emblems of these divinities the grotesque

[1] See examples in Renouf, *op. cit.* pp. 2–4.

[2] Flinders Petrie, *op. cit.* p. 76.

[3] Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 53. It was probably not the worship of elephants, but the shape of the island which gave Elephantinê its name. *Ib.* ii. p. 365.

[4] Gardner Wilkinson, *op. cit.* i. p. 28.

[5] The spelling in these Papyri and elsewhere. There are various forms: Chnum, Khemnu, &c.

[6] Wallis Budge, *op. cit.* ii. p. 50. Flinders Petrie, *op. cit.* pp. 39–40.

[7] Gardner Wilkinson, *op. cit.* i. p. 7. [8] *Ib.* i. p. 5.

[9] Wallis Budge, *op. cit.* ii. p. 50.

[10] Gardner Wilkinson, *op. cit.* i. p. 9.

[11] Wallis Budge, *op. cit.* ii. p. 50.

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is much in evidence. Chnub, with his ram's head, with headgear resembling an early Victorian chandelier, and a wand resembling either a swagger-stick or an elongated toasting-fork—Sati in a tight-fitting dress and a matinée hat of portentous elevation[1] (if we may be pardoned so flippant a comparison), rouse our ridicule and not our reverence. Might it not have been the same with the Jews in Yeb? Contrast such worship with one that was entirely imageless, and based upon a lofty conception of Jehovah as all-sovereign God of Heaven. Surely friction might easily arise between the adherents of faiths so utterly unlike, especially since Jew and Gentile lived, worked, and worshipped within the narrow circumference of a river-island. And so came in 411 a foretaste in Egypt of the worse persecution that befell Jerusalem two centuries later under Antiochus Epiphanes.

In closing this brief and summary sketch two thoughts are uppermost in our mind. It is becoming increasingly clear that students of the Hebrew Bible must turn their attention to Aramaic, and must supplement their study of Ezra and Daniel by making some acquaintance with Egyptian Aramaic. And, finally, we cannot but wish that more people endowed with intelligence and with leisure and opportunities for travel and research would devote themselves to such studies. They would find it worth their while to do so. If they want a new sensation and a fresh outlook let them turn to the romantic past, and help in more senses than one to 'restore the years that the locust hath eaten.'

[1] Gardner Wilkinson, *op. cit.* iii. illustr. 2.

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ART. IX.—THE CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

1. *The Cambridge Modern History.* Vol. vii. *The United States.* (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1903.)
2. *The Rise of Religious Liberty in America: a History.* By S. H. COBB. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902.)
3. *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies.* By A. L. CROSS. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902.)
4. *Essays on Church Reform.* Edited by C. GORE (now Bishop of Birmingham). (London: John Murray, 1898.)
5. *The Churchman.* An Illustrated Weekly News Magazine. (New York: The Churchman Co.)
6. *The Pacific Churchman.* Published Fortnightly. (San Francisco, California.)
7. *The Living Church Annual.* (Milwaukee, Wis.: The Young Churchman Co.)

THE recent celebration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the planting of the English Church in what are now the United States of America, a celebration in which, to the gratification of American Churchmen, the Bishop of London took part, has naturally called special attention to the history and condition and prospects of the American branch of the Anglican communion. The approaching Lambeth Conference gives additional interest to the subject; for at that fifth decennial gathering of bishops in communion with the See of Canterbury the bishops from the United States will probably outnumber those of any other national Church.[1]

Of the last Lambeth Conference it was remarked that, while party divisions in the ordinary sense were conspicuous

[1] The American Church has now in the United States 85 bishops of dioceses and missionary districts (which need not be distinguished), with 11 coadjutors, besides 8 foreign missionary bishops. England has 37 diocesans, with 36 suffragans and assistant bishops; Scotland 7, Ireland 13, India 11, the rest of Asia 12, Africa 19, Australasia 27 Canada 24, the West Indies and South America 8.

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by their absence, the dividing lines were mostly national, the English bishops forming the extreme right and the Americans the extreme left, while the great body of bishops from the Colonies made a centre which interpreted the home bishops to the Americans, while 'they spoke Yankee to the Britishers.' There is a good deal of truth in this pleasantry. In more ways than one the colonial churches occupy a sort of half-way position, with both its advantages and its disadvantages. Clinging often to as much as can be preserved of home custom, and influenced largely by home opinion, they are less capable of serving as an example or a warning concerning the opportunities and dangers that await the Anglican Church in entirely different circumstances, as, for example, in complete separation from the civil government.

A word on this point may be allowed first. After his visit to Canada and the United States in 1904, the Archbishop of Canterbury, addressing a committee for Church defence wrote: 'I should have liked to point out how intensely the experience, the conditions, and the admitted perils which appear in American and colonial life to-day seem to me to justify us in the duty of cherishing for the common good the national Church of our land.'[1] Very likely for the good of the country it may be the duty of English Churchmen to retain (so long as they can do so without sacrifice of those principles and truths of divine revelation which can alone make their ministry to the people valuable) the position of vantage which they have inherited. But it would be hard to find an American Churchman who would for a moment think of exchanging our absolute independence of the State and freedom from State interference (let it be understood that it is absolute and entire) for all the complications and entanglements, the anomalies and hindrances with which the Church of England of to-day has to put up on account of the 'established' position. It may as well be plainly said here that, apart from the question of spiritual and ecclesiastical independence, the idea of a Central Consultative Body for

[1] *The Guardian*, November 23, 1904, p. 1939.

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the Anglican communion would never be entertained by American Churchmen while the English Church retains its present connexion with the State, and while its leading prelates, who would be sure to hold prominent positions in such a council, are at least liable to be the nominees of a politician owning no allegiance to the Church and quite possibly conscientiously opposed to its claims and principles.

Whatever may be the ideal, and whatever may have been natural and right under earlier and different conditions, the American has no shadow of doubt that in the modern world a free Church in a free State is the only satisfactory principle. Looking round upon actual conditions in the State Churches of Europe, whether Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Protestant or Anglican, he is confirmed in his opinion. For this independence we are willing to sacrifice much of prestige and of opportunity. True, we have no Church schools all over the land, in part supported by the State; consequently we are free from the unhappy controversies which, however unavoidable, have embittered the relations between the Church and other religious bodies in England. Roman Catholics find it possible to maintain parochial schools, entirely unaided by public money, in a large proportion of places where they have any number of people. This could not be attempted were it not for the service of religious orders. Undoubtedly what is somewhat harshly called the 'godless' education of our public schools (corresponding with the English provided schools) has its dangers, and calls for much more careful and thorough supplementary work than it generally receives; but at least it is free from the illusions which there is reason to believe often wait on the supposed religious teaching and atmosphere of so-called Church schools. In this connexion it is, at any rate, a fact to be pondered, that one of the common complaints of American clergymen is concerning the indifference to Church privileges and Church duties of Church of England people who come to this country, after having been brought up in English parishes and with the advantage of the parish schools. Have they

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been spoiled, and robbed of independence and of a sense of responsibility by the somewhat grandmotherly system of the Church of England?

True, again, the Church in America enjoys no position of privilege and favour, and the State has no ecclesiastical body to serve as the official organ to express on great occasions its religious aspirations. With a loss in this respect goes an absence of the prejudice and jealousy which prevent many dissenters from giving a candid consideration to the claims of a privileged Church. The Bishop of London, in recounting his experiences in Canada and the United States, made much of the general absence on this side the Atlantic of ill-feeling between the Church and other religious bodies.[1] Did he consider how, if the Church in England were on the same unprivileged footing that it occupies here, one great cause of the hostility and opposition which it encounters would be removed?

Let it be pleaded that all that has been said above is intended not in the least as an attack on the position which the Church providentially holds in England, and which it could not lightly abandon; but rather with the view, while explaining the American position, of pointing to compensating advantages which may encourage English Churchmen in the not improbable prospect of a change, which may be forced upon them, of the relations between Church and State.

Certainly one bugbear frequently brought forth by establishmentarians to intimidate Churchmen, American experience may dispel. It is urged that 'disruption' would almost inevitably follow disestablishment, that it is only the restraining hand of the State which holds together different schools of thought in the Church. The experience of the Church in the United States is an absolute refutation of this idea. Without a Privy Council to give a wide and tolerant interpretation to its formularies, the Episcopal Church is reckoned (for good or for ill) one of the 'roomiest' Churches in Christendom. Extreme men on any side may be

[1] *The Guardian*, October 30, 1907, p. 1797.

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critical and restless; but, to a very large extent, extreme positions are modified by common and responsible consultation and action such as our Diocesan and General Conventions provide for. Men who are at all reasonable will loyally bow to a decision of the body to which they belong, when they would resist to the utmost what they consider the usurpations of an unauthorized external court or legislature, however weighty or dignified. If individuals take an impossible line, they will not find any general following or sympathy in their erratic course. As an illustration of the possibility of this autonomous and harmonious legislation, attention may be called to the fact that within the last few years the American Church has completed a careful revision both of its Prayer Book and of the whole code of its Canons; so that it is neither bound to-day by obsolete rules and provisions, nor has the revision been attended by any sort of disruption such as is often feared if any similar work were attempted in England. The solidarity of the Church is further shewn in the passing away of party missionary societies, leaving the whole missionary work of the Church, so far as its home administration is concerned, in the hands of a representative board elected by the General Convention.

The episcopate is a far more real bond of unity than any external authority could be. Our bishops, chosen by those over whom they are to rule, and the election confirmed by the Church at large, removed by no gulf or barrier from either their people or the body of the clergy, with dioceses of manageable size,[1] are able to act as chief pastors, and are regarded as such rather than as distant potentates. Their authority is purely spiritual, the personal influence they can exert (if unaided, also unhandicapped, by special civil status) very great.[2]

[1] Only 4 dioceses report 200 clergymen or more; 9 report between 100 and 200, 30 less than 50, with all the 21 missionary districts The area, of course, is in many cases very large, and involves considerable time and labour in travel.

[2] A study of Mr. Cross' *The Anglican Episcopate in the American Colonies* makes it quite plain that the opposition offered on the American side to the introduction of bishops was largely based on a dislike of the secular grandeur of the English prelates, and on a fear that they might

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Let it not be thought that the present writer holds a brief for the American Church, or that he is blinded by optimistic fancies. As has been already hinted, his object in part is to urge American experience as an encouragement to colonial Churchmen to accept in a whole-hearted way their situation as free Churches, and not to cling to shreds of English prestige, which may prove real hindrances to their growth in new and democratic communities.

Experience affords warnings as well as encouragements. If the American Church is free from temptations to Erastianism in its obvious form, it has by no means escaped the dangers which naturally beset voluntary bodies. In the absence of endowments on any large scale, there is the real peril of subservience to the men who hold the purse strings, of becoming largely the Church of the comparatively well-to-do classes, of adopting a congregational rather than a parochial or missionary system. No little amusement has been found among us in guessing who could have been the deputy from New York in the General Convention that the Bishop of London's vivid imagination took for a working man sitting side by side with the millionaire financier.[1] As a matter of fact, the lay members of our conventions are too exclusively of one class to be really representative of the communicant laity. This, of course, is more so in General than in Diocesan conventions, but it is a flaw in the latter. It may be mentioned that in both the representative must really belong to the constituency (parochial or diocesan) which he represents. The provision from city centres of representatives for country parishes in diocesan councils is wholly inadmissible. It is a system which has been proved to work disastrously in some colonial dioceses, and which, as lookers-on have noticed with surprise, has been

be clothed by the civil power with coercive jurisdiction—extending even to those who were not members of the Church. This was evidently the meaning of the frequently expressed desire that their office might be limited to the superintendence of the clergy! 'A free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical episcopacy' was what Seabury secured from Scotland for the Western world.

[1] *The Guardian*, October 30, 1907, p. 1797.

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allowed for the newly constituted Representative Church Council in England. It is open to the twofold objection (1) of tending to make the membership of the representative body excessively narrow and uniform instead of its being wide and varied; and (2) of offering great opportunities for partisan organizations (parishes or societies) to nominate their own candidates, who are only nominally representative of distant parishes.

The influence of the purse is felt most acutely in parochial affairs, where, though the bishop may have the right to decide whether a clergyman should be obliged to resign his cure or not, no power, civil or ecclesiastical, can compel a vestry to continue a stipend when they have no money in the treasury, nor oblige discontented parishioners to contribute to the support of a clergyman against whom they have some grudge. In this way it is possible for one or two wealthy persons to override the wishes of a large body of earnest lay people. To guard against such dangers of the voluntary system there is need of a more carefully devised plan for central—that is, diocesan—administration of funds than has yet been found practicable. The danger, at any rate, of becoming the rich man's church is shewn in our Church boarding schools, particularly the leading schools for boys in the Eastern States, where the terms have been gradually raised until they are practically prohibitory for any but the sons of the distinctly wealthy.

It is doubtless true that the Episcopal Church in America exercises an influence on the community altogether disproportionate to its numbers, and that this fact is partly (by no means wholly) due to the social standing of a large proportion of its membership. This is largely a matter of inheritance and tradition. Among the men prominent in the organization of the new republic not a few were Churchmen. This, too, has its unfavourable as well as its favourable side. To be popularly regarded as aristocratic and allied with the interests of the moneyed classes naturally creates suspicion and prejudice in a democratic country. Probably some feeling of this sort on the part of the Church has tended to hold it back from missionary enterprises among

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different classes of people, to provide for whose needs a greater elasticity of method would have been required than it has been wont to use or to approve, and who consequently have been left to the ministrations of other religious bodies —or to none.[1]

The failure of the Episcopal Church to influence in any large degree the negro element of the population (numbering some ten millions out of seventy-six) arises from various causes. In part it is due to a certain inflexibility on the part of the Church, which has rendered it unable to meet the needs of a race that specially requires its discipline and its plain insistence on Christian morality as a part of the Gospel. But Matins and Evensong are obviously not suited for an illiterate and emotional people. Partly the alienation of the negroes from the Church is due to a reaction against all that was connected with their old condition as slaves. The Church was the Church of their masters, to which, as such, they were in large measure attached; in a political revolution it was not unnatural that there should be a throwing off of old ecclesiastical relations. On the other hand, the greatest obstacle at the present time to the Church's work among the coloured people is the invincible prejudice of the white people of the Southern States (mostly dating from Reconstruction times and the horrors of that period, more disastrous far in their consequences than the Civil War itself), and their determination to keep the races as distinct as possible in all relations of life, social, civil and ecclesiastical. If coloured priests are not admitted on an equality with their brethren to Diocesan Conventions, what wonder if men hesitate to seek our orders? If Southern councils are afraid of any largely increased representation of coloured parishes, what wonder if the work lags? The remedy for the actual condition of things presents most difficult problems, probably the most serious problems before the American Church. It cannot make a claim to be in any sense a national Church, or to represent the Catholic Church in the country, while abandoning these millions

[1] According to the census of 1890, 48 per cent. of the communicants of the Episcopal Church were in cities of 25,000 population and upward.

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of people, that specially need its care, to the ministrations of religious bodies whose faith and worship and discipline it counts at least defective. It dare not take the line of insisting that in every diocesan council every priest with cure of souls shall have his place. Apart from questions of constitutional right, to adopt such a course at the present time would be to lay on its Southern members a burden more heavy than they could bear; and it would without doubt provoke a schism. What other course can be adopted that will meet the need, and which is consistent with Catholic principles, has yet to be discovered. America has certainly her contribution to give and to receive in a consideration of the right dealing with race problems in missionary work.

Turning to another subject, we may consider the relation of the Episcopal Church to other religious bodies. Counting by numbers alone, we are comparatively insignificant. According to the last census (1900), out of 31,148,445 communicants of all churches, Roman Catholics claim 10,785,496, Methodists 6,429,815, Baptists 4,974,047, Lutherans 1,841,346, Presbyterians 1,723,871, the Disciples of Christ 1,235,294, Episcopalians only 817,845, the Congregationalists coming next with 687,042. Our own statistics prepared for the General Convention of 1907, and reported by the Committee on the State of the Church, make our communicants nearly nine hundred thousand, shewing a gain, according to these figures, of nearly seventy thousand in the last three years. Mr. H. K. Carroll, an expert on the subject, reckons the religious population by multiplying the number of communicants by three and a half, giving, that is, two and a half adherents for every communicant. In the case of Episcopalians he would multiply the communicants by four.[1]

As has already been said, the influence of the Episcopal Church is admitted by all to be altogether out of propor-

[1] *The Religious Forces of the United States*, by H. K. Carroll (vol. I. of the American Church History Series). The figures in this exceedingly interesting book are those of the census of 1890. 'One out of every 12 persons is either an active or passive opponent of religion; 2 out of every 3 are not members of any church' [i.e. communicant].—p. xxxvi.

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tion to its mere numbers.[1] (1) Whereas some at least of the other religious bodies are largely confined to one or another section of the Union, the Episcopal Church is spread throughout the entire country; not, of course, by any means in equal strength, but in such wise that no part is not taken into account and provided for. (2) The Church's percentage of growth in this country is the highest of all the bodies—not counting in this calculation the growth of the Roman Catholics by immigration—and gains on the growth of the population. The general trend, it may be said, is towards the Church. While members of other bodies do not often change (save on marriage or on finding no church of their own denomination in the place where they have gone to live) from one to another, confirmation lists in every diocese would shew that it is a common thing for persons brought up in some other religious body to affiliate themselves with the Church. (3) The Prayer Book exercises a very wide influence beyond the Church's own membership. The widespread growth during the last twenty years of the observance of the Christian year, the adoption of portions of the Prayer Book, and of semi-liturgical services based thereon—are all indications of the Church's influence. In perhaps deeper fashion the Church, by its fixed standards (though they be not ideal) concerning marriage and divorce, is raising the tone both of the community and of other religious bodies who are without definite guidance in the matter.

All these considerations tend to shew how important it is for the Church boldly to stand by principles, and for its leaders to have a firm and clear grasp on principles, while ready to adopt a sympathetic and conciliatory attitude towards those around. It is often difficult to steer a true course, avoiding on the one side the appearance at any rate of a hard and repellent temper, and on the other an attitude of weak concession and compromise

[1] The Protestant Episcopal Church stands third of all religious bodies in the value of its property, the Roman Catholic Church being first, and the Methodist Episcopal second.

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which, however popular with many at the moment, must lead to the alienation of others, and in the end to a loss of general respect. The American Church is young and comparatively crude. The marvel is that, with its earliest traditions going back to perhaps the dreariest time of the Mother Church's history, and with all the neglect it suffered from friends and the opposition from foes, it has retained and recovered so much of the true tone and spirit of the Church. With a very large proportion of its clergy (probably not less than two-thirds) brought up outside its communion, mistakes may often be made. The pressure of outside influence is often well-nigh overwhelming, and the temptation great to sacrifice this or that traditional rule of the Church, the importance of which is not perceived. Short cuts to reunion, where a united front is so pre-eminently needed, are alluring. Nowhere else in the world has any church the opportunity which is presented to the Church in America to serve as an instrument in God's hand for promoting the reunion of Christian people in one communion. With the multitude from all nations, European and Asiatic, continually pouring into the country, with large numbers in new surroundings breaking loose from Roman domination, with many tired of division and seeking something at once more stable and more free than is found among the Protestant bodies, the Episcopal Church has a unique opportunity to serve as the Church of the Reconciliation. But for this mission it must be true to its principles all round, preserving in equal balance its catholic and its reformed position, maintaining a firm hold on the ancient faith and the historic order, while welcoming with an open mind new light thrown on old truths, and shewing a readiness to adapt itself to new conditions. For this task both courage and wisdom are required, and not less patience. At times we have doubtless suffered from overstiffness and conservatism; and then there are threatening waves of liberalizing, which, under the disguise of explaining, would explain away fundamental truths of revelation. Such dangers without doubt are better met by serious and intelligent argument than by the mere exercise of repressive dis-

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cipline. Discipline is hardly likely to be excessive in America, and its proper place in the Church's armoury cannot safely be ignored. The policy of drift and non-interference has been too commonly followed with regard to transgressors in different directions, causing serious grief and scandal to many earnest souls; and, of course, leaving a legacy (such as Bishop Creighton inherited) of greater difficulty to others, who feel themselves obliged to deal with irregularities which are supposed to have gained a prescriptive right by toleration. The establishment three years ago of courts of review, to which appeals may be made from diocesan trial courts, as to matters of fact and law, is a distinct gain, as safeguarding the interests both of individual clergymen and of the Church. The judicial system, it is hoped, will shortly be completed by the establishment of a court of final appeal, in which questions of doctrine may be determined. At the last General Convention this was opposed, and strongly by some, on the ground that it was undesirable to have final rulings on many points; but the defeat of the measure was probably due to the impracticable character of the actual proposal, which would have made the court consist of all the bishops—a judicial court of a hundred members! A final ruling may now be had in the case of a bishop being put on trial. For this purpose a court of first instance and a court of review are provided (in each case composed entirely of bishops), but it is stipulated that a verdict of guilty on a charge of heresy must be approved by a vote of two-thirds of the House of Bishops.

For the discipline of the laity the only provisions made are in the rubrics at the beginning of the Communion office, and in the case of admitting persons to the Sacraments about whom the minister has reasonable cause to doubt whether they have been married otherwise than as the Word of God and the discipline of the Church allow; in this latter case the question is to be referred to the bishop for his godly judgement. This provision refers to a marriage after divorce, which the canon allows (with certain restrictions) to the innocent party in a divorce for the cause of

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adultery. The rule cannot be fairly held to apply to cases of marriage within prohibited degrees of relationship, as to which the American Church has no rule. The Table of Prohibited Degrees inherited from the English Church has never been formally repealed, but it is nowhere found in either Prayer Book or Canons; its re-enactment has been defeated, and could not be secured if the rule included the deceased wife's sister, nor could it be now enforced, though individual priests and bishops would strongly contend for its moral obligation. It is important to make plain the position—unhappy as it is—of the American Church on this matter. Our example is sometimes quoted in England as a sanction for relaxing the law with regard to a single prohibition, it not being known that we have *no law* on the subject of marriage with relatives of any degree. The civil laws of the several States on the matter vary greatly, those of New York permitting the marriage of a man with his niece or with his step-daughter. The whole question of marriage has greatly exercised the minds of American Churchmen. Patient thought and study are still required to gain canonical regulations on the subject which will be at once consistent with the Divine law and equitable in the treatment of individual cases, such as must frequently arise when large numbers of persons have been brought up in ignorance of the Christian discipline. One course (which appears to be dangerously attractive on both sides of the Atlantic) it is hard to reconcile with any faithfulness in witness or in the stewardship of the mysteries—allowing persons on their own responsibility to approach the Sacraments, and to claim full Christian privileges, when they have wilfully entered upon unions that the Church refuses to sanction, as not in accordance with the Divine intention.

Something should be said on two points which naturally create interest and call forth questions:

1. The name 'Protestant Episcopal' is obviously open to objection, especially in view of the existence of the large Methodist Episcopal[1] and the small Reformed

[1] 'Protestant' in the title of the Methodist Protestant Church means

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Episcopal Churches, and because of the repellent effect which it has upon people from European or South American lands, who associate 'Protestant' frequently with infidelity and nearly always with the negation of what is catholic. The title certainly would not be adopted if our independent organization were being effected in the twentieth century instead of having been accomplished in the eighteenth. The term then had an unobjectionable significance, being practically equivalent to Reformed, and anti-Papal.[1] But it is a very different matter to decline to accept a particular

anti-episcopal. Certain Methodist reformers in 1830 protested against the episcopacy of the parent body as a barrier to the reforms they advocated.

[1] The following from many quotations that might be given may be interesting: In 1766 the clergy of New York united with those of Connecticut in a petition to the Bishop of London to 'Procure a worthy Protestant Bishop or two in some of these colonies, especially since the Roman Catholics are so happy as to be indulged with a Popish one' [in Canada].—*Church Documents, Connecticut*, Hawks and Perry, ii. 101. In 1782 Dr. Berkeley, prebendary of Canterbury, and son of Bishop Berkeley, wrote to Bishop Skinner, coadjutor of Aberdeen, asking, 'Can any proper persons be found who, with the spirit of confessors, would convey the great blessing of the Protestant Episcopate from the persecuted Church of Scotland to the struggling, persecuted Protestant Episcopalian worshippers in America?'—Beardsley's *Life of Bishop Seabury*, p. 106 (Hodges, London, 1884). In November, 1783, the question was directly propounded to the Primus of the Scottish bishops, 'Can consecration be obtained in Scotland for an . . . . American clergyman, now at London, for the purpose of perpetuating the Episcopal reformed Church in America, particularly in Connecticut?'—*Ibid.* p. 108. In reply, Bishop Kilgour, the consecrator of Seabury, expressed his 'hearty concurrence in the proposal for introducing Protestant Episcopacy into America.'—*General Conventions*, Hawks and Perry, i. 593. The last three of these quotations are also given in Bishop Wilberforce's *History of the American Church*, pp. 201, 205, 207. The word was apparently used in the above quotations as Bishop Cosin used it when he said, concerning the English Church, 'We that are Protestant and reformed according to the ancient Catholic Church.'—*History of Transubstantiation*, i. 7. So Bishop Sanderson, when he speaks of 'the true belief and right understanding of the great article concerning the Scripture's sufficiency being . . . the most proper characteristical note of the right English Protestant, as he standeth in the middle between, and distinguished from the papists on the one hand, and the (sometimes styled) puritan on the other.'—Preface to *Sermons*, § xxi. *fin.*

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designation, and to change it when it has been borne for the whole course of our independent history. There is little doubt that the name will after a while be dropped. To force a change by anything like a bare legal majority in the face of strong opposition would be the height of unwisdom. As it comes to be seen that the change is not desired in the interests of any Romanizing movement, opposition will probably lessen, and as the Church makes her way in the country and shews her ability to embrace different classes, it will be less difficult to adopt some other more suitable title in the place of that which is discarded.

2. The proper share of the laity in the legislative, judicial, and administrative functions of the Church is a large question which cannot be discussed here. In America the laity certainly have their full share, practically nothing but the actual administration of the Word and Sacraments being reserved for the ordained clergy.[1] Not only in missionary boards, but in Diocesan and General Conventions and in judicial courts of review (diocesan courts are generally composed only of clergymen) they have equal power with presbyters, and in General Convention can veto action of whatever kind agreed upon by the bishops and the clergy. How far this is consistent with true principles of Church government is a serious question. American experience should probably suggest caution and safeguards rather than blind imitation. As a matter of fact, the influence of the laity is generally thrown on the conservative side, standing by actual traditions, however little of intelligent defence these may be able to claim. On the other hand, the arrangement gives to the laity a real interest in the affairs of the Church, and serves as a safeguard against any developing alienation (such as, alas! we have often witnessed) between the official ministry and the general body of intelligent lay people. Here again we come back to what must be kept constantly in mind,

[1] Reference may be made for a fuller statement on this subject to a paper (No. xi.) on 'The Position of the Laity in the American Church' in the volume of *Essays on Church Reform*, edited by Dr. Gore, now Bishop of Birmingham (London: Murray, 1898).

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the necessity for the rulers of the Church, if they would be its leaders, to exercise influence and not merely to rely upon authority.

May this word be said in conclusion? The American Church will not—it should not—reproduce any narrow Anglicanism in a new world. In some ways 'Americanism' may be as perplexing to the mother Church as it has proved in the Latin communion. Grown-up children must take their own way. By their new experiences they enrich the life of the family, but like a dutiful though grown-up daughter the American Church looks continually for sympathy to the mother Church, and for help from her greater learning, her long traditions, and her calmer outlook. If we have something to teach, we know that we have much to learn.

ARTHUR C. A. HALL,
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SHORT NOTICES.

I.—BIBLICAL STUDIES.

Researches in Biblical Archaeology. Vol. I. *Ancient Chronology,* Part I. By OLAF A. TOFFTEEN, Ph.D. (The University of Chicago Press, 1907.) $2.50 net.

THIS is a strange book. The manipulation of ancient chronology to support a preposterous presupposition is nothing new, but the manipulator is seldom a man abreast of his subject. On the present occasion the author knows all that is to be known about the materials for Assyrian, Babylonian, and Egyptian chronology, and he is familiar with the most recent work on the subject in the English and German languages, though he almost entirely ignores whatever has appeared in French. His individual conclusions within this range are nearly always possible, and often plausible, and, even were they not so, his book would be valuable because of the completeness and perspicacity with which the available material is set forth. But the moment he touches upon Biblical or classical chronology he becomes ridiculous. In a work like the present, which is confined to the

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period before 1050 B.C., this might seem unimportant, but unfortunately the guiding motive of the author's system seems to be the desire to accommodate the chronology of the eastern empires to the dates furnished by the Bible, taken as he himself expresses it 'at their face value.'

It would take up too much space to record in detail how the early patriarchs are converted into exactly dated dynasties; how the Shepherd Kings begin with the coming of Abraham and end with the first Hebrew migration; how the date of Joshua coincides with that of the 'Khabire,' and the apparent discrepancy between 1 Kings vii. and the chronology of Judges is explained by the supposition that the earlier chapters of Judges deal with some pre-Israelitish Hebrews, and that Joshua entered Canaan in the time of Ehud.

References are found, or at least suggested, up and down the Old Testament to the leading events of secular history, and even Biblical history must give way if it seems to clash with Biblical chronology. A like credulity is shewn in regard to the statements of classical and post-classical writers about the chronology of the heroic age, and even to their synchronisms between Greek and Oriental chronology. Belus and Ninus resume their ancient positions, and Thouoris, the last king of the nineteenth dynasty, is dated by means of the fall of Troy.

Amos and Hosea, 'International Critical Commentary.' By (the late) W. R. HARPER, Ph.D., President of Chicago University. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1905.) 12*s*.

AT the time when our notice of this volume of the *International Critical Commentary* was on the point of appearing the news was received of the death of Dr. Harper after an heroic struggle to continue his ordinary work in spite of great suffering. The notice has been held over for a time, but it has been thought best to print it as it stands in view of the fact that the volume is one of a well-known series and will doubtless go into another edition. If the criticism seem occasionally severe, it will not, it is hoped, be thought that we are unmindful of the great loss not only to American scholarship but to all students of the Old Testament which was sustained in Dr. Harper's premature death.

No portion of the Old Testament has been the subject, in recent years, of keener interest or more studious research than the books of the prophets of Israel. The importance of prophecy

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as preparing the way for Christianity has been recognized with increasing clearness, while the work and writings of the prophets furnish for more than four centuries a unique illustration of the religious development of the chosen people. Dr. Harper, therefore, rightly begins his book by tracing the factors, and sketching the basis of that religious movement which preceded, and prepared for, the astounding phenomenon of written prophecy.

Now, in this '*résumé* of pre-prophetic activity' the author complains that he has often found himself 'greatly embarrassed for lack of space,' and when it is realized that his plan includes a critical examination of 'the older and younger Decalogues, the Book of the Covenant (=CC), the Judean (pre-prophetic) narrative (=J), the Ephraemite (pre-prophetic) narrative (=E),' we shall not experience much surprise at his embarrassment. One cannot but feel that this section of the book, to which twenty pages are devoted, might either have been treated with more lucidity at greater length in a separate volume, or that the general argument would have greatly gained, in force and clearness, had the author been content to present his readers with the very interesting conclusions he had reached as a result of his studies in this connexion. On the other hand, while this part of the work seems overburdened with critical elaboration, one must confess that the historical introduction seems slight and unsatisfactory. Thus it is only after tracing with almost unnecessary detail the influence of Elijah and Elisha upon 'pre-prophetic activities,' that the relation of 'pre-prophetism to Mosaism' is discussed. It surely would have been far more in accordance with historical and scientific method to have begun, not with Elijah and Elisha but with Samuel and the inauguration of the monarchy, if not with Moses himself, whom Hosea at any rate regarded as inaugurating the succession of prophets which distinguished Israel from other nations. The introduction contains, moreover, some highly disputable propositions which are calmly stated as though they were acknowledged facts. Can one state as a fact that in Northern Israel 'extreme class distinctions were less emphasized' than in the South (xxxiii)? One would not glean this from these two prophets. Or, speaking of Elisha's miracles, that 'from no other source does prophecy receive a contribution which so definitely represents or anticipates the Christ-like element'? Or that 'the thought of love is a new idea in Israel's religion' (xliv)? Or that 'a true estimate will place Micaiah ben Imlah in some

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respects above both Elijah and Elisha (l)'? Or that the spirit of 'the pre-prophetic societies' was 'as narrow as it was intense, as crude as it was correct' (liv)? Or that 'the older Decalogue as reconstructed' delivers a message only of an 'extremely ritualistic content' (lix)? Or of the Ten Commandments that they '*cannot* come from the time of Moses' (lxi)? Or that the Fifth Commandment still betrays the influence of ancestor worship! (lxiii)? Again, surely it is much too contentious a point to regard as conclusively proved that some of the main agencies which brought about a change from the 'monotonous and severe' (lxxxix) Yahwism of the past were the institutions of 'Baalism, among the chief of which was prophetism, adopted and adapted by Israel' (xcii). In fact, our author seems very much inclined to attribute almost every Israelite institution to a Canaanitish origin: the Sabbath (lxiii), the 'world-stories' of Genesis (lxxiii), ancestor worship (lxiii, 182), prophecy itself (xcii). There are occasional inconsistencies. Thus, on page xxxvii we are told that 'the thought of Yahweh's using Syria in order to punish Israel does not, of itself, imply that Yahweh is other than a national god'; three pages further on, we are astonished to find that 'the threat that Ahab's house is to be destroyed by Syria plainly makes Yahweh something other than a merely national god' (xl).

The rest of the introduction deals with the books of Amos and Hosea, and contains much that is interesting and suggestive. But it is somewhat disconcerting almost at the outset to find it dogmatically laid down that 'nearly one-fifth of the book which bears the name of Amos is to be set aside' (cx). The able sketch of Israel's religion in the prophet's day is perhaps somewhat overdrawn. It is going too far to speak of a belief that 'Yahweh was bound to protect Israel's political interests without reference to their moral conduct. To him was accorded no option in the matter' (cxii); or that 'moral delinquencies were entirely overlooked by Yahweh' (cxiii). Again, an element of exaggeration enters into the estimate of Amos' ministry. 'There were probably not fifty people in Northern Israel who could understand him. *It is quite certain* [?] that he did not himself have in mind a clear conception of the issue involved in his preaching' (cxxx). The chapters on Hosea's life, message and ministry are forcibly written, and may be considered the best in the book. Dr. Harper rightly claims that 'Hosea was not illogical, as he has so frequently been represented,' and properly insists on 'his ability, notwithstanding conflicting feelings, to give

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expression to a system of theology which was to serve henceforth as the basis of all Israelitish thought' (cxlvi). Again, Hosea 'was a poet, not a philosopher . . . a mystic, not a moralist' (clv). And he acutely points out that 'both call and message were in reality a spiritualizing of an ordinary event and an old tradition.' We are moreover wisely reminded that though 'the poems do not give the impression of having been popular addresses, poetry was the most popular form of address before an Oriental audience' (clvii).

Turning finally to the literary form of Amos and Hosea, we feel bound to enter an emphatic protest against the dogmatism, masquerading under the name of 'scientific criticism,' which characterizes the whole of this section. Although we are told that Amos 'is especially fond of drawing his language from nature' (cxxxix), the 'well-known doxologies' are ruthlessly rejected as 'theological insertions from a post-exilic time'—the only reason assigned being that they are 'similar in tone and spirit to certain passages in Job and Deutero-Isaiah' (cxxxi). Again, it is not easy to see why if a simple statement should be amplified by some picturesque details it is not to be regarded as original but as 'a technical or archaeological insertion' (cxxxiii). On what conceivable pretext either Dr. Harper or anyone else can say that 'certain phrases, "the Lord," "God of Hosts," "Oracle of Yahweh," "Has Yahweh said,"' are not due to Amos but 'have been inserted arbitrarily to emphasize some favourite thought of a reader' (cxxxiii), it is not easy to discover The charge of arbitrariness might with much plausibility be laid in another quarter. The treatment of Hosea proceeds on the same lines. The thought of Israel's restoration is, we are informed, 'non-Hoseanic' (cxlvii). This conclusion is reached by the simple method of eliminating all passages where such a thought finds expression. Similarly, "he does not yearn for the healing of the schism by a Davidic King [Cheyne]" (clii), a note curtly conveying the information that '3^5 is not from Hosea.' 'Hosea has no bright message' (cliii). 'References in Hosea to Judah are for the most part the work of a Judaistic editor.' 'It is impossible to reconcile with Hosea's situation and declarations the so-called Messianic allusions' (clix). Although the author realizes that Hosea is a man of 'conflicting feelings' (cxlv), that in his book 'there is no lack of the tender element' (cliv), that his utterances are in reality 'impassioned sermons, with all the warmth and all the pain of an agonizing heart,' yet the Messianic passages 'are entirely inconsistent with Hosea's

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point of view' (as edited by various critics to suit their theories) 'and directly contradict the representations which are fundamental in his preaching.' It is, at least, a curious feature that this 'direct contradiction' should have escaped the attention of a multitude of students and critics who would warmly defend the disputed passages.

The introduction includes an elaborate exposition of 'the poetical form of Amos and Hosea' (clxiv–clxix). The whole subject of Hebrew metre, though of great interest, is still wrapped up in much obscurity. The great divergence of opinion between students of the subject of the highest reputation as to some of the most important points, when applied to the test of actual practice, is quite sufficient to bear out Dr. Driver's contention that 'it is precarious to base critical and textual inferences upon the strophe.' The author protests against this moderate statement, and confidently asserts that 'strophic structure is only another name for logical structure' (ix). Those who study the commentary will not only grow impatient of the endless metrical discussions and rearrangements, but will also realize how largely the subjective element of the critic's own prepossessions enters into all such emendations and transpositions of the text.

With regard to the commentary, while admitting that the author gives unmistakeable evidence of an almost encyclopaedic knowledge on every point even remotely connected with the subject matter, including 'ancestor worship' (182, 329), and 'totemistic conceptions' (242), there cannot be any doubt that the notes are far too long. There is a considerable amount of vain repetition owing to the fact that every passage is commented upon four times—(1) the general sense is given; (2) the readings of the versions are discussed; (3) the passage is interpreted phrase by phrase; (4) grammatical peculiarities are noticed. There are great and obvious advantages in such a subdivision, but there are equally great and obvious defects. In the first place, unless the system is carefully handled, it is apt to lead to the same thing being said over and over again, and, secondly, in any case of special difficulty, it is far more convenient to have the passage discussed in all its bearings once and for all than to have a number of discussions separated from each other by a mass of subject matter.

The notes are at times very good and illuminating. We may perhaps single out the treatment of Amos iii. 1–8, which is

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interpreted as indicating the need of co-operation between Israel and God. This view is original and suggestive. Also the note on Hos. i. 2, which brings forward strong arguments for regarding the whole section as based upon a real tragedy in Hosea's domestic experience, leaves little to be desired. On the other hand, the whole rearrangement of Hosea i.–iii., together with many of the reasons advanced (225–248), seems singularly infelicitous. Many of the notes are uselessly elaborated to a degree that is almost ridiculous. The author states in the preface that he is 'perfectly aware that the history of interpretation does not consist in placing one after another a series of interpretations' (x.), but he seems too often to have forgotten his own principles to the detriment of an otherwise valuable and certainly most learned piece of work.

The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel. With Introduction and Notes. By H. A. REDPATH, D.Litt., M.A. 'Westminster Commentaries.' (Methuen and Co., 1907. 10*s.* 6*d.*).

EZEKIEL is a difficult book to read, much more to expound. Anybody essaying either the lesser or the greater task will admire the Jewish Rabbi who, in order to reconcile the differences between the Prophet and the Law, shut himself up in his study with a supply of 300 measures of lamp-oil, emerging after his diurnal and nocturnal research an exegetical conqueror. But the difficulties before us to-day are wider in range than those which confronted Hananiah-ben-Hezekiah in the days of Gamaliel. It is true that the subject is free from some of the complications affecting the investigation of other scriptures. We have yet to hear of Proto-, Deutero-, Trito-Ezekiel; but the text is very dubious; and even where the text is clear the allusions may be obscure.

Again, the book is in some places distasteful as well as difficult for the ordinary reader. The minute particulars of the restored Temple, the details as to prophetic cookery in c. iv., the freedom of language about Oholah and her sister are instances in point. We should like to think, moreover, that Ezekiel's prophetic actions were sometimes nothing more than the creations of imagination. Dr. Redpath discourages us in this (pp. xii. and 16). He has no difficulty in picturing the prophet eating his food to the accompaniment of a symbolic quaking and shaking (xii. 18), or lying on one side with arm outstretched for months at a time (iv. 4), or cutting his hair and shaving himself with a sword, disposing of the hair in the strange manner

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indicated (v. 1-4). We prefer the view of these actions taken by the late Dr. A. B. Davidson in the 'Cambridge Bible.'

The mention of the latter's work on Ezekiel suggests a comparison with this. Few prefatory notes are more instructive than that in Dr. Davidson's commentary, where he confesses to a 'sense of defeat' at the conclusion of his task. The Westminster commentator is not affected by such depression, if we may judge from the tone of his introduction; and in some ways (not in every way, certainly) we should prefer to fail with Dr. Davidson rather than to succeed with Dr. Redpath. The latter scholar was doubtless influenced by considerations as to the scope and limitations of the series. There is ample evidence of the great learning which underlies the work, and we can well understand that it was a labour of love (p. viii.). What we seem to miss are such qualities of imagination and artistic sensibility as always charmed the reader of the late Dean Plumptre's expositions of this very book. Some students of Ezekiel might easily fail rightly to appreciate this somewhat sombre prophet. They need special help to find majesty in what seemed to them monotony, to discover a prophet where they had seen only a fakir. Some of the illustrative touches by Dr. Redpath are helpful in this direction, but others might have been chosen with greater appropriateness. For example, there are four verses from Keble not bearing directly upon Ezekiel, while we have not noticed one line from the well-known Tammuz passage in *Paradise Lost* directly illustrating the curious incident in c. viii. Again, in speaking of the death of Ezekiel's wife (c. xxiv.), a Westminster Commentary would be enriched by quotation from what is perhaps one of the sweetest short poems in our language on that touching theme, Mrs. McAndrew's 'Ezekiel.' [1]

Moreover, some of the archaeological notes might have been augmented. The reference to 'a writer's ink-horn' is worth elucidating. We want to figure to ourselves the apparatus of the ancient scribe. Did he use parchment, or papyrus, or what? How was his pen made? And the ink in his ink-horn? Was it powdered charcoal mixed with gum, or did the shops in Babylon keep such a substance—costly enough it would be—as that used in later times in Rome, the *sepia* of the cuttle-fish? Discoveries of ancient manuscripts are now happily not infrequent, and such discussions would seem to fall within the scope of a commentary.

[1] *Ezekiel, and other Poems*, by B. M. (T. Nelson & Sons.)

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The references to ships and shipping would have justified a somewhat fuller treatment than that accorded in the useful notes on these passages. It would doubtless be easy to become too discursive and excursive on such themes; but the evolution of a navy is so peculiarly interesting that its early stages are of importance. What may the known facts as to construction and tactics in the epoch of the Punic wars enable us fairly to infer with regard to the size, the capability, the management of the ships in earlier days? Then, too, there is the question of the trade routes and settlements of the great merchant-peoples in Ezekiel's time.

Not a few students now approach the Bible after having learned something of the classical times of ancient Greece and Rome. Anything that may, in any degree, serve to bring east and west together deserves notice. For instance, in Ezekiel xviii. 1-3 occurs the famous proverb about sour grapes setting the teeth on edge. A coincidence is worth a passing allusion. Æsop, to whom by tradition we owe the fable of the fox and the sour grapes, was dwelling at Samos when Ezekiel was prophesying by the Chebar. The two most famous instances of sour grapes as an illustration thus date from the same period.

The Introduction has several excellent features. The illustrations of Ezekiel's style are very complete; and so is the list of the parallels between Ezekiel and the Apocalypse. The brief section dealing with the use of this book of the Bible in our Prayer Book is a somewhat novel and a very useful adjunct to an Introduction. It is pleasant to reflect that in spite of the unfortunate defects of our Lectionary it secures from neglect Scriptures which might easily be disregarded.

In reference to the much-debated question as to whether Ezekiel's prophecy or the Priest's Code is the earlier document, Dr. Redpath holds that the ideal presented in cc. xl.-xlviii. is evolved from a system already in operation, and he supports the view taken in Möller's *Are the Critics Right?* We note in passing that on p. xxii., l. 7, it is not clear whether the possessive pronoun has Dr. Möller or Dr. Redpath as its antecedent noun.

The Theology of the prophet is carefully considered. We could wish, however, for a fuller treatment, either in the Introduction or in the Notes, of the subject involved in the words 'all souls are mine'; the note on *nephesh* seems too brief in view of the persistent misunderstanding as to the meaning of 'soul.' We are glad to observe that Dr. Redpath deals (p. 38) with

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the curious speculation as to whether Totemism is represented in the mention of Shaphan and the idolatry described in c. viii. The *shaphan* or rock-badger was one of the unclean animals of the Levitical law. It would not be strange to find totem clanship or totem worship in the Old Testament when we reflect how widely diffused such systems have been and are still. From China to Australia, from Nagpore to the Congo, from Peru to Canada, Totemism in some form—animal or other—has left its traces. Dr. Redpath is probably right in thinking that the identification is precarious. A good many Old Testament names are clearly not names of clans, but are personal names. The note on the passage mentions Achbor the Mouse, and Huldah the Weasel. Such instances might be multiplied. Our English names for women are often derived from the garden. Hebrew feminine names suggest farm or forest: Deborah the Bee, Eglah the Heifer, Hoglah the Grouse, Zipporah—'Birdie'—while the name given to Jael (the Wild Goat) is less indicative of Totemism than of unconscious prophecy.

Perhaps Dr. Redpath is over-cautious in his allusion (p. 39) to Isaiah xvii. 10 as interpreted in the R.V. margin, where for 'pleasant plants' we read 'plantings of Adonis'—*i.e.* Tammuz. The identification seems probable; at the least it is a coincidence that the name of the flower 'anemone' (which was sacred to Adonis) recalls by its very sound the Hebrew word rendered 'Adonis' in the marginal passage referred to. With reference to this point—the sound of Hebrew words—we are glad to find a transliteration of the original in xx. 29. This method might be employed much more freely in commentaries for English readers.

One of the standing puzzles of Ezekiel is the meaning of *pannag* in c. xxvii. 17. This word, which occurs only here, is dealt with helpfully. It is seldom that a Hebrew student finds fuller guidance in a general commentary than in a special thesaurus. But if we are not mistaken Dr. Redpath has achieved this distinction for his *Ezekiel*. The Oxford Lexicon merely states that the word is unknown, that it appears to mean some kind of food, and that it may be a corrupt reading for *donag* (wax). The Westminster Commentary gives the following interesting suggestion: 'It is perhaps just worth mentioning that "panicum," one of the Latin names for "millet," goes back at any rate to the time of Julius Cæsar (*B.G.* II. 22). A kind of grain would suit the context here.' Dr. Redpath does not appear to have anticipated the obvious

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criticism that the Shemitic for millet is *dŏchan*, and that Ezekiel iv. 9 furnishes the only instance of the Hebraic form of this word. (The Aramaic is *dōchinâ*.) But this fact does not preclude the use of the term *pannag*, especially by traders, as the Shemitic pronunciation of *panicum*; and the identification seems quite reasonable.

The Commentary is admirably printed. We should like to see the sectional headings put together as a separate final section of the Introduction, and the numbers of the various sections might be preceded by the word 'section'; as far as p. 160 they might easily be mistaken now and then for chapter numbers. The plans drawn by Mr. W. Hilton Nash are a useful addition to a Commentary which will doubtless prove helpful to many.

The Servant of Jehovah, or the Passion-Prophecy of Scripture Analysed and Elucidated. By G. C. WORKMAN, M.A., Ph.D. (Longmans, 1907.) 5*s.* net.

THE 'Servant' passages are a remarkable feature of the Isaianic writings. How are they to be explained? In days now gone by they were not explained but applied. The Servant of the Lord was in most cases regarded as Jesus Christ, Whose divine Personality and Passion were foreseen by a prophet who lived many centuries before the Saviour appeared. But the recognition of the composite character of the writings bearing Isaiah's name led to a considerable modification of such views. Accordingly while Christian scholars to-day would acknowledge that the 'prophet of the Gospel' wrote 'better than he knew,' and that the ultimate fulfilment of his teaching is in a real sense to be found in the Gospel, they nevertheless insist that the prophetical utterances had a direct contemporary meaning and application.

Dr. Workman would have added to the usefulness of his book if he had given us an introductory history of the interpretation of the 'Servant' prophecies. Gesenius, for example, claimed that the Servant typified the Prophetic Order. More recently Duhm[1] has narrowed this down to the figure of an actual prophet, otherwise unnamed and unknown. The great majority of scholars see in these writings a representation of the Jewish Church or nation. Some would apply a rigid method of consistent interpretation and would claim that in every instance the expression 'Servant of Jehovah' means the

[1] And Minocchi. See *C.Q.R.*, Jan. 1908, p. 446.

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actual Jewish community exiled in Babylon and about to be restored to their own land. Others, like Knobel, see in the Servant a personification of the spiritual Israel, the loyal nucleus, the saved and enlightened Remnant.

It is characteristic of British scholarship to avoid foot-rule explanations and to adopt interpretations sufficiently elastic and comprehensive to account for every known fact as to the problem considered. Writers like Dr. Driver and Dr. Davidson have taught us to see in the Servant of Jehovah a picture of the Jewish Church 'contemplated by the prophet either from the point of view of its actual condition or from the point of view of its divine vocation. At one time he regards the people in the light of what they are; at another time in the light of what they are about to be.'

These words are from Dr. Workman's introductory remarks, and a survey of his book leaves the impression that his work of expounding and enforcing this thesis has been well done. Dr. Workman, who belongs to the not very large band of Wesleyan scholars who adopt the modern critical position, is known, with respect, as the author of a useful work on the text of Jeremiah; and throughout his analysis and exposition of the Servant-prophecies we feel that we are reading the words of a very competent scholar who has a genuine enthusiasm for his subject.

There is not perhaps anything very new or very striking in the book, and in view of this the personal note in the Preface might have been somewhat kept in restraint. No one will grudge Judaism the generous terms of praise accorded by Dr. Workman in c. viii. The growing *entente cordiale* between Jewish and Christian scholars is something to rejoice over. At the same time Churchmen would welcome somewhat clearer indications of a strong position as to the Christian faith. His praise of Judaism is not excessive, but it is out of proportion; and it leaves impressions that may easily be misleading.

The style would occasionally be improved by a little pruning, as in the footnote on p. 8; and the phrase 'another example of accommodated application' becomes wearisome after occurring seventeen times on sixteen consecutive pages. On pp. 125, 199, 'reverence of,' 'admiration of' are objective genitives, not subjective; 'instrumentality' is misprinted on p. 142. The translations are accurate and useful, particularly so is the rhythmical version of Isaiah lii. 13–liii. 12 (pp. 192–196).

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Prophetical Suggestions. By KALAMOS. Being Expository of the Books of Revelation and Daniel. (London: Digby, Long & Co., 1906.) 10s. net.

THE teaching contained in this handsome volume stands in odd contrast to that of the work just considered. Both deal with prophecy. But while Dr. Workman gives explanations based on fact 'Kalamos' supplies applications born of fancy. The apocalyptic portions of the Bible supply an elaborate scheme of cryptic predictions which 'Kalamos' is convinced he can with some completeness elucidate for us. Accordingly we are to expect that the existing era will end in the second half of the present century. Ingenious charts give a sequence of forthcoming events; one chart in particular is an elaborate schedule of the closing seven years of this dispensation, marked off with the precision of a prophetic stop-watch.

To the great credit of Kalamos—and to the greater perplexity of his readers—the author of these *Suggestions* modifies and corrects his own conclusions *as he goes along*. Thus as the charts alluded to were prepared in advance of the commentary on them the author came 'to see some things more clearly.' Hence the red-typed warning at the foot of each chart referring the student to 'sundry emendations' on pages indicated. There are numerous other signs of change in plan or purpose; in fact they overflow into a separate sixteen-page pamphlet issued after the completion and publication of the *Suggestions*.

The book testifies to the author's industry and zeal. He has read, in some directions, a good deal; widely, if not always wisely. There are many allusions to historical events; and such an illustration as that from the Ancient Mariner on p. 179 would not be out of place in any exegesis of Rev. xvi. 3.

> 'The very deep did rot: O Christ!
> That ever this should be!
> Yea, slimy things did crawl with legs
> Upon the slimy sea.'

Unfortunately, far more typical of *Prophetical Suggestions* is the following extract from the pamphlet referred to above. The page (9) is headed 'Fire-arms Foreseen':

> 'It was only recently that I perceived what seems to be the true explanation of 'the heads of the horses' *as the heads of lions* (Rev. ix. 17). I was not satisfied with the statement that early cannons were *ornamented* with this resemblance; seeing that such ornamentation was apparently

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only occasional: but I now see that the gun-*carriages* are almost certainly included in the Apocalyptic figuration of 'the horses,' even as the framework of a battering-ram would be included when that engine of war was called a *horse*: see p. 63. Thus the actual guns themselves constitute *the heads* of the horses; *the roar* of the guns constituting the resemblance to heads *of lions*.'

Similar canons of interpretation would presumably justify the writer in finding in Nahum ii. 4, 'The chariots rage in the streets, they jostle one against another in the broad ways; the appearance of them is like torches, they run like the lightnings,' an anticipation of the motor-omnibus.

The work is entirely unscientific. The writer indeed courageously acknowledges (p. 737) the insufficiency of his equipment; and he will fail to convince any save those who hold views of Scripture which are not supported by Scripture itself, nor by the Church which is its witness and keeper. But Kalamos has some excellent qualities nevertheless and is a witness to the wonderful sway the Bible wields over all sorts and conditions of thinkers.

A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels. Edited by J. HASTINGS, D.D., with the assistance of J. A. SELBIE, D.D., and (in the reading of the proofs) of J. C. LAMBERT, D.D. Two Vols. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906, 1908.) 21*s.* each net.

IT was with some misgiving that we read the statement in the Preface that 'this is, first of all, a preacher's Dictionary. The authors of the articles have been carefully chosen from among those scholars who are, or have been, themselves preachers.' For, on the one hand the qualities which make a good preacher are not the same as those required of a writer in a Dictionary, and the combination is far from common; and on the other we greatly deplore the enormous output of sermon-outlines, 'hotch-potch' commentaries and similar works, the principal object of which seems to be to save the preacher the trouble of thinking. It is only fair to say that a careful study of a large number of articles in these volumes has done something to allay these apprehensions, though it does not entirely remove them.

The five volumes of the great *Dictionary of the Bible* which have been noticed at considerable length in these pages are an invaluable possession for the theological student, and, though we cannot but admire the ingenuity which has provided fresh subjects for articles in the work before us, there is necessarily a great deal of overlapping, and the general level is scarcely

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so high. Uniformity of treatment is, of course, not to be expected, but there is a want of proportion in the assignment of fifteen columns to 'Originality,' eleven to 'Fact and Theory,' six to 'Complacency,' three to 'Circumstantiality in the Parables,' and only three and a half columns to the article 'GOD.' The interests of the preacher are presumably in view in the articles 'Appreciation of Christ,' 'Back to Christ,' 'Coming to Christ,' 'Mental Characteristics,' 'Necessity,' 'Preaching Christ' (by Prof. Denney), 'Religious Experience,' 'Socialism' (by Mr. Percy Dearmer), 'Unconscious Faith,' 'Womanliness,' and the like. If the preacher is not also a critical student he may be perplexed by being told by Dr. Johannes Weiss (*s.v.* 'Acts of the Apostles') that 'we do not know the name of the author of the book—for St. Luke or some other disciple of St. Paul did not compose it, but merely supplied valuable materials for its composition' [no evidence whatever is vouchsafed in support of this dictum], and by Prof. Souter, a far safer guide, that 'the only reliable sources for the life of Luke are his Acts of the Apostles, and in a very slight degree his Gospel and the Epistles of St. Paul.'

Frankly it is not too much to say that the most valuable articles are those which have no directly homiletic purpose. Prof. Souter's article on 'Apocryphal Gospels,' Dr. Burn's on the *Magnificat*, and that by the Bishop of Moray and Ross on the 'Christian Calendar,' to take only three examples, represent a finer scholarship and a sounder critical faculty. We can only regret in passing that in a *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* no attempt should have been made to deal with the Synoptic Problem as a whole, though the articles on the Gospels separately are well written, if not always convincing. Attention may also be called to the series of doctrinal articles on 'Atonement' (Mr. J. G. Simpson), 'Descent into Hell' (Dr. Burn), 'Incarnation' (Prof. Kilpatrick), 'Mediator' (Mr. Leighton Pullan), 'Reconciliation' and 'Redemption' (Prof. Orr), 'Resurrection of Christ' (Mr. Sparrow Simpson), 'Trinity' (Bishop of Clogher), 'Universalism' (Prof. Mackintosh), 'Vicarious Sacrifice' (Dr. Plantz), and the like. The conclusion of the article on Absolution, 'Only in a high moment of spiritual impulse and assurance could the minister venture to say "In the name of the Lord Jesus I absolve thee from thy sins,"' seems to us to involve a radical misconception of the ministerial office; and we demur to Dr. Falconer's observation on the 'Lord's Supper' that 'the Christian Church with its immense reserve of spiritual power performed a masterly and slow retreat from the more

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exalted positions of the Apostolic age.' But while the articles are of unequal value and written from very different standpoints they are nearly all interesting, and shew as a rule a conspicuous desire to be just.

An appendix to volume ii. contains a further series of studies on 'Christ' (i) in the early Church, (ii) in the Middle Ages, (iii.) in Reformation Theology (by Dr. Lindsay), (iv.) in the Seventeenth Century, (v.) in Modern Thought, (vi.) in Jewish Literature, (vii.) in Mohammedan Literature. The article on 'Christ in Modern Thought' seems to us scarcely adequate even as an historical survey, but the last (by Dr. Sell and Prof. D. S. Margoliouth), though short, is a very learned and useful piece of work. And last of all comes an article on 'Paul' by Dr. Sanday, who expresses a satisfaction, which his readers will not share, that 'our subject is limited for us at the outset.'

We have said enough to give some idea of the character of the volumes, though omitting several articles which we should have liked to notice. Dr. Hastings and his coadjutors have deserved so much gratitude from all Biblical students that it would be ungracious to complain that they have sometimes given us less than we should have desired.

St. Mark and the Triple Tradition. By Rev. C. E. Scott-Moncrieff, B.D. (Nisbet, 1907.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

The Life of Christ according to St. Mark. By W. H. Bennett, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1907.) 6*s.*

The problem presented by the Synoptic tradition makes but slow progress towards an accepted solution. Certain conclusions have been generally established, and Mr. Scott-Moncrieff is among those who have given up the 'oral' theory. The position which he has now adopted is in some ways a repetition of the *Ur-Marcus* theory, which also has in recent years been passing out of sight. Arguing from the sections of St. Mark's Gospel omitted in St. Matthew and St. Luke, Mr. Scott-Moncrieff comes to the conclusion that they were not in the copies used for these Gospels. There was, he suggests, an original St. Mark of very early date, a foundation-document, written as a text-book for evangelists and teachers, copies of which frequently were no more than a collection of extracts made for practical purposes. It was in this form that the Gospel was used by the compilers of the first and third Gospels. The Gospel, as we now have it, is a later edition worked over by St. Mark, and its origin is correctly described in the tradition preserved by Papias.

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One great fact which makes against this theory is that the order of St. Mark is never contradicted by both St. Matthew and St. Luke. Consequently scholars feel that it is wiser to look for explanations, never more than tentative, in other and less obvious directions. There is no great difficulty in recognizing that the text used may have differed from our present text in several details, and the evidence that has been accumulated makes this practically certain. We may conclude then that St. Mark's Gospel was before the writers of St. Matthew and St. Luke in very much its present form (some scholars, however, think that St. Luke had also read St. Matthew). It is therefore the first-hand authority for one side of the Gospel tradition. But the Gospel is distinctly limited in its scope and presentation of the life and teaching of Jesus. The tendency to treat it as the only and complete historical account has been responsible for a vast amount of the modern misrepresentation of the developement of Church doctrine.

This limited character of the Gospel comes out clearly in such a study as that attempted by Dr. Bennett. He has supposed as the reader of the Gospel one who is educated and well-informed in all that is necessary to understand the setting of the narrative—*e.g.* the conditions of life in Palestine, Jewish expectations and religious parties; but with complete ignorance of the Christian Church and of Jesus. One fact which comes out from such a study, but which is outside Dr. Bennett's purpose, is that the Gospel was never intended for such a reader, but for those already instructed in the Christian faith. What Dr. Bennett wishes to make clear is just what St. Mark would and would not tell such a reader. The difficulty of his task is great, and criticism of his success is equally so. A single passage will make this clear. On p. 108 (St. Mark. viii. 27 ff.) we read 'Whom say ye that I am? Peter, spokesman as usual, answered Thou art the Messiah. The evangelist implies that Jesus accepted the title, that He Himself, therefore, had become conscious that He was the Messiah.'

On this we may remark that this is the first occasion on which any words of St. Peter are mentioned by St. Mark, and that in the Gospel St. Peter (singly or with others named) is the speaker, scarcely spokesman, six times, and St. John three times. It is, indeed, easier than not to read with general ideas in the mind.

But again, why does the supposed reader draw the inference that Jesus had only gradually become conscious of His Messiah-

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ship? He is not supposed to be either ill-informed or unintelligent. St. Mark had no such thought when he wrote; even so critical a scholar as Bousset [1] is convinced that the language of ii. 10, 19, 28 is Messianic, and we are satisfied that there is Messianic consciousness implied in i. 15, 17, where Jesus proclaims the Kingdom and promises to make those whom He calls fishers of men. The comment is clearly unwarranted, and is sufficient to illustrate how the book requires to be read with care and in a critical spirit. With this reservation we recognize the usefulness of the study and can cordially recommend it to our readers.

II.—Metaphysics and Philosophy of Religion.

Personal Idealism and Mysticism. 'Paddock' Lectures for 1906. By W. R. Inge, D.D. (Longmans, 1907.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

The object of these lectures is 'to urge the claims of Christian Platonism as a corrective to certain tendencies in modern thought.' The obstacles to its acceptance are, Dr. Inge believes, (*a*) a needless distrust of the intellectual processes as a means of arriving at divine truth, and (*b*) a neglect of the doctrine of the mystical union with the glorified Christ. Thus he has two tasks to accomplish—firstly, Christian Platonism must be set forth and justified, and, secondly, the obstacles which stand in the way of its acceptance must be removed.

The subject of the first lecture is 'Our Knowledge of God.' A revelation purely from without is, Dr. Inge maintains, an impossibility; the three avenues to the knowledge of God are purposive action, reasoning thought, and loving affection. Here Dr. Inge has much to say of Plotinus, 'the last great figure in the magnificent series of Greek philosophers.' The great point upon which he insists is that the ascent to God cannot be purely ethical; the True and the Beautiful, as well as the Good, are roads up the hill of the Lord. Especially does he lay stress upon the value of scientific knowledge as against the modern tendency to decry its value in comparison with the value-judgements of religion and morality. The revelation of God which is made to us along these three lines does not, Dr. Inge holds, give us anything like a scheme of theology. Theology is 'the creation of the imaginative intelligence, which has to form out of its prior experience some picture, idea, or history of the world, to which the religious conviction may correspond, and in which its activity may find scope.'

[1] *Jesus*, 'E. T.' p. 172. (Williams & Norgate.)

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The second and third lectures deal respectively with 'The Sources and Growth of the Logos-Christology' and 'Its Development and Permanent Value.' Here we find much that is of interest as to its sources in Greek and Hebrew thought, its exposition by St. Paul and St. John, and its subsequent history in Christian theology. This theology is, of course, of the highest value for Christian mysticism; that Christ is the Life of our life is to mystics the great central truth of religion. But we feel, as we read these lectures, that neither the historical revelation given to us in the life and work of our Lord, nor His redeeming work itself, receives at all its proper share of attention. Dr. Inge would have us 'to leave purely historical problems alone for the present, and to learn to know and love Christ as He can be known and loved by us in the twentieth century.' But then whom are we to know and love? Is it just the Logos, one and the same for Heraclitus and for ourselves, or is it the Incarnate Lord, unto whom none can come except the Father draw them? We can fully agree that 'an alleged revelation which awakened no response within us would be to us no revelation at all'; but we must insist at the same time that we need, in order to awaken that response, a far higher revelation than that which the indwelling Logos gives to all the world. Dr. Inge faces this objection to his system quite frankly, but he does not answer it. He attempts to explain the importance which St. John attaches to the actual occurrence of the Incarnation by urging (*a*) that the Incarnation teaches us that God 'reveals Himself most fully in that form of life in which the processes of nature seem to culminate and converge, in the soul of the perfect man,' and (*b*) that it teaches us that 'Goodness does not need the accessories of power and omniscience in order to be divine.' But these are not the reasons for which St. Paul and St. John laid stress upon the Incarnation. Rather, they looked to the Incarnate Lord to do what the Logos could not have done. So far from thinking, with Dr. Inge, that 'the relation of the Sonship of Christ to that of the elect who are sons of God' was a point upon which 'we had better not speculate,' they held that it is only by union with the Incarnate Son that we are sons of God at all. To St. John the Incarnate Lord is everything, the doctrine of the Logos being used to explain the majesty of His Person; when once the Incarnation is accomplished, the thought of the universal indwelling of the Logos practically disappears from view. To Dr. Inge the indwelling Logos seems to remain the centre of thought and life, while the Incarnation retires into the back-

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ground. A similar depreciation of the historical side of Christianity appears when Dr. Inge contrasts the importance of our Lord's words with that of His works. The words of Christ, he says, 'sound in our ears as coming from another, but they are echoed within us by that . . . still small voice which is nothing else than the voice of the Paraclete'; while with the works of Christ it is otherwise. But why draw this distinction? Is not the reality of our Lord's works certified to us, just as the reality of His words is certified, by the power with which the Paraclete brings home to us their meaning and importance? Are not our Lord's works just as much the means of conveying to us divine truth as His words themselves? Dr. Inge writes as if the words rested on subjective, and so on convincing evidence, while the works rested merely upon historical evidence. The truth surely is that both rest upon a combination of external with internal evidence, and upon an exactly similar combination. When our Lord said to St. Thomas 'Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed,' He did not, as Dr. Inge seems to say, blame him for laying too great stress upon external evidence, but for refusing to listen to the excellent external evidence which the witness of the other Apostles gave to him.

In his fourth and fifth lectures Dr. Inge deals with 'The Problem of Personality' and with 'Thought and Will.' His purpose is to protest (*a*) against a view of Personality which makes impossible the belief in a real divine indwelling, and (*b*) against the anti-intellectual trend of much modern thinking. The fourth lecture seems to us much the most valuable in the book. Dr. Inge well points out that the popular conception of the self as 'an impervious spiritual atom' is absolutely inconsistent with Christianity. It makes 'the Atonement unethical and sacramentalism impossible'; it makes God 'a spirit among other spirits, not the deepest life and final home of all spirits'; it 'destroys the very basis upon which Christian love is supported.' It is at this point that we find Dr. Inge's attack upon 'Personal Idealism.' Philosophical thinking, he holds, has suffered from the supreme importance which has been attached to the subject-object relation; this has led us to an anthropocentric system, instead of to a cosmocentric or Christocentric one. Dr. Inge is perhaps not quite fair to the system which he attacks, since insistence upon the unity of self-consciousness, and upon the reality of the self which underlies all our experiences, does not necessarily lead to a self-centred philosophy. In one passage he falls into an apparent sensationalism

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which we are sure does not represent his real mind. But his teaching is most valuable in its assertion that personality, in the highest sense, is not something with which we start, but something which has to be gradually acquired. We need to recognize ourselves as conscious elements in the being of a vast whole, and, so far from the ideals of self-culture and self-sacrifice being inconsistent the one with the other, it is only by self-sacrifice that we can realize ourselves at all. In spite of somewhat misleading language in one passage, Dr. Inge does not deny either the reality of the self or its independent value; he says excellently that 'the metaphor of an organism to express the relation of the divine Logos to His creatures is inadequate, because it does something less than justice to the claims of human personality.' When we read the lecture on 'Thought and Will,' we again find much that is of value. Dr. Inge feels that in much modern thinking the office of the reason has been unduly depreciated in comparison with that of the will and of the feelings. He thinks that 'the so-called conflict between the head and the heart is generally a conflict between reflective and unreflective thought, or between reason and prejudice.' Feeling and will need to be 'disciplined and controlled by being brought into subjection to the realities which are outside of and independent of our wills.' 'No age of the world,' as Professor Henry Jones says, 'was ever strong, except when faith and reason went hand in hand, and when man's practical ideals were also his surest truths.' We must act out our thoughts, and think out our acts; we must know ourselves, and we must know the world around us, if we wish to know God, Who made both, and in Whom both have their being.

The last lecture deals with 'The Problem of Sin.' Here, we think, Dr. Inge's teaching is least satisfactory. He has much that is interesting to say about the various standpoints from which the problem may be approached, and about the various views of sin which have been taken in Christian theology. He urges that the teaching of Christian theology on the subject is much more gloomy than anything we find in our Lord's teaching, and that Christian moralists have fixed the mind too much on the avoidance of sin and too little upon 'the production of moral values.' He says that 'the determination to find in God's government . . . the rule of a moralist pure and simple' has been 'a great obstacle to understanding the actual laws under which we live,' and that we mutilate experience 'if we make the cravings of the moral consciousness the sole constitutive principle

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of reality.' With all this we can agree. What we would urge is that Dr. Inge himself, in his discussion of the problem of sin, practically makes the cravings of the philosophic intelligence the sole constitutive principle of reality, and sacrifices our moral convictions to his philosophy much more seriously than those whom he criticizes in Lecture V sacrifice philosophic thinking to our moral convictions. He himself says in the first lecture that conscience in her struggle with evil demands a God seriously engaged in the same conflict, and we would add with the utmost emphasis that the God whom our Lord reveals to us is the God whom conscience thus demands. Dr. Inge, on the other hand, holds that 'God is not God unless He is' already 'all in all,' that 'a God who has not yet come into His own is no God,' and seems, as his last word on the problem of sin, to 'deny to some degree the absolute existence of evil, regarding it as an appearance incidental to the actualization of moral purpose as vital activity.' This, we must maintain, is neither Platonism nor Christianity. No doubt the views of God and of sin which Christianity involves present grave difficulties to the philosopher, but those difficulties must be patiently accepted. The conflict between good and evil no doubt belongs to 'life in time,' but a true philosophy must do justice to the demands of conscience, and Dr. Inge's, so far as we see, quite fails to do so.

Structure and Growth of the Mind. By W. MITCHELL. (Macmillan and Co.) 10s.

THE author of this book is Hughes Professor of Philosophy in the University of Adelaide, and the book itself appears to consist of lectures delivered in that University. They are thorough in treatment, and are not only clear but simple in expression. Only the last presupposes more than a very elementary knowledge of brain-structure. They constitute an interesting and useful introduction to a science which, although not unabused, is yearly becoming more important. The relation between mind and body, sub-consciousness, the freedom of the will, the nature of animal intelligence, the mental development of children, the pre-eminence of *interest* in the growth of the mind—these are some of the matters discussed by the author, and upon all of them his observations, if not always final, are always illuminating. We notice in passing a very just contention, that an educational curriculum ought to be arranged not by reference to the theoretical classification of the sciences, but by reference to the 'system of knowledge'—that is, to the growth of the mind.

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III.—History and Antiquities.

The Life of and Times of the Empress Pulcheria, A.D. 399–A.D. 452. By A. B. Teetgen. (Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., 1907.) 10s. 6*d.* net.

The writer of this volume has read many interesting books with evident pleasure, extracting a few lines of description from one, a character-sketch from another, a theological statement from a third, and where modern writers failed she has filled in the picture with details which, as in one instance she admits with a frankness that disarms criticism, 'have no justification beyond the picturesque.' And, speaking generally, Miss Teetgen has read the right books, even if she does not shew any considerable power of discriminating between their relative values. 'The object of the work,' she tells us, 'has been not to contribute anything fresh to history, but to rescue the personality of Saint Pulcheria.' The aim is laudable, and there was room for such a book; but the result is disappointing for the same reason as in the case of a work on *Matilda of Tuscany* by another Roman Catholic lady two or three years ago. A study of this kind demands in a special degree historical training as well as imagination and wide reading. A *Life* is not less but more convincing if the facts for which there is evidence in original authorities are carefully distinguished, and the style is simple rather than grandiose. And no author should ever have passed for the press such an extraordinary number of amazing misprints.

The Valerian Persecution: a Study of the Relations between Church and State in the Third Century A.D. By P. J. Healy, D.D., of the Catholic University of America. (London: Archibald Constable and Co.; Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co.) Price 6*s.* net.

The contributions of American scholars, and in particular those of the Roman communion in the United States, to the study of early Church history are not so numerous that any new work from such a quarter can be lightly passed over; and the present volume on 'the Valerian persecution' (by which is meant 'the persecution under Valerian') deserves serious consideration. It is a sober, reasoned examination of the relations between Church and State down to the Edict of Gallienus in 260, and, mindful of the probability that the majority of his readers,

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even those who are students, may have but slight acquaintance with the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, and some of the other ancient authorities, Dr. Healy has allowed himself considerable freedom in quotation. In regard to modern writers a somewhat marked preference is shewn for French rather than German scholarship, but the author has cast his net very widely, and we should be reluctant to complain that the references to magazine and review articles are almost too numerous. Among English authorities those chiefly quoted are Professor W. M. Ramsay, Archbishop Benson, and Dr. Greenidge.

In the first seventy-five pages we have a rapid survey of Roman religion, the attitude of the Christians towards it, and the early history of persecution. In regard to the first, in its primitive form, Dr. Healy would agree with Dr. Bigg's estimate: 'Among the ancient Gentile cults there was none so respectable, and none so prosaic, as the Roman. It is the religion of men who are too busy to have any time for sentiment'[1]; but he seems to regard the Roman attitude towards religion as upon too uniform a level of dullness and formalism, and in the discussion of syncretism he somewhat neglects (without entirely ignoring, p. 66) the fact that the cults of foreign deities, while tolerated, were not by any means always welcomed at Rome. The religious revival under Augustus included a prohibition of Celtic rites, and the action of Tiberius in pulling down the temple of Isis, crucifying her priests, and throwing her statue into the Tiber represented more than the whim of a tyrant. We should recast the statement that the 'trend towards belief in the unity of the deity' which 'was fostered by statesmen and philosophers . . . reached its culmination in the deification of the Emperors' (p. 9). It is true that the worship of the Emperor ('praesens divus' said the courtly poet) was of great importance as a unifying force, and that Domitian caused himself to be described as 'Dominus et Deus,' but that is not the same thing. Nor, again, can eclecticism be regarded as implying any great deepening of thought, however estimable may have been the feelings which led Alexander Severus, according to Lampridius, to place the effigies of Apollonius, Christ, Abraham, and Orpheus, in his *lararium* side by side with those of the more respectable of his predecessors, or to inscribe on public buildings the negative maxim, 'Quod tibi fieri non uis, alteri ne feceris.'

[1] See *The Church's Task under the Roman Empire* (Oxford: at the University Press, 1905); four very interesting lectures.

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Dr. Healy recapitulates with care the arguments in the controversy raised by Pliny's famous letter to Trajan as to the date at which the bare fact of being a Christian—the *nomen ipsum* quite apart from *flagitia cohaerentia nomini*—was treated as a crime. He then traces the history down to the close of the persecution of Decius (the 'exploratio potius quam persecutio,' as Cyprian calls it), when the faith of the Christians, enervated by the long peace, was put to a searching test which supplied to the next generation the perplexing problem of the 'lapsed.' The remaining two hundred pages are devoted to the history under Valerian (253–260), a man full of years and honour at the time of his accession, and destined to a miserable death in the hands of the Persian Sapor. His character, so warmly eulogized by Trebellius Pollio both in the notable fragment of the Life and in the *Lives of the XXX Tyrants*, has been subjected to severe criticism by later historians, but Dr. Healy, like Vopiscus, attributes his fate to misfortune rather than incompetence. The causes of his persecution have likewise been disputed. Dionysius of Alexandria (*ap.* Eus. *H. E.* vii. 10) attributes it to the influence of Macrianus, afterwards emperor, whom he calls 'archisynagogus of the Egyptian magi,' and in whom Dr. Healy sees a priest of the cult of Alexander the Great. Support to this is given in Pollio's Life of Quietus (*Trig. Tyr.*, 14, 3), where he tells us that the men of the family of the Macriani were distinguished by the fact that they bore the image of Alexander on all their rings and silver, as did their women on their reticules and on the little bags which they carried in their hands, while it was even embroidered in various colours upon their gowns. The character of Valerian's two edicts (257–8)—the smiting of the shepherds that the sheep might be intimidated—is carefully examined, and the history is illustrated by many interesting extracts from the *Acta sincera* and other sources for the trials and death of St. Cyprian, the martyrdom of Pope Xystus and of St. Laurence, &c. Dr. Healy frankly rejects the numerous legends with regard to the death of the last, accepting Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri's explanation of their origin that 'assus est'—he was roasted—was an early error in transcription for the usual 'passus est'—he suffered. In other cases we could have desired a more searching analysis of the details of some of the *Acta* and *Passiones* and other authorities cited—*e.g.* the discussion of the 'Massa candida' and the 'Acts of Montanus' are somewhat unsatisfactory. The book closes with

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an account of the edict of toleration issued by Gallienus in 260, a useful Bibliography and a rather poor Index.

A few words may be added as to minor points. On p. 22 the use made of Acts xxv. 10 goes further than is warranted; p. 27, note 4, for 334 read 244; p. 38 read 'Batiffol'; p. 51, note 1, for *Aur.* read *Ant.* On pp. 81–2 the translation seems to us (as elsewhere) stilted and rather inaccurate; the narrative of Pollio is simpler and more telling. And surely 'Tu censibus modum pones' does not mean 'the census will be made under your direction.' P. 88, Vopiscus does *not*, we think, intend to call Valerian the best emperor of all; p. 89, Aurelian is not included in *Trig. Tyr.* 10. P. 92, read '*in* Achaicis urbibus': the passage seems misunderstood. P. 102, 'Aurelian, whose severity the Emperor himself feared,' is misleading: Valerian feared for his son, who was a gay young subaltern under Aurelian's command. P. 103, note 3, the quotation is not quite accurate. P. 112, note 2, read 'fecisti,' and *supra* for 'privileges' read 'duties.' P. 121, for 'Diocletian' read 'Maxentius.' Pp. 134–5, the reference to Eus. *H. E.* vii. 11 should be made clearer; p. 152, line 2, for 'never' read 'hardly'; p. 158, read 'Boius.' On p. 213, the interpretation of 'baptizatus in carcere' seems questionable; p. 223, read 'Iacobus,' as on p. 224 also; p. 237, read 'fecerat'; p. 238, read 'Babylas'; p. 244, *med.* read 'Nicephorus'; p. 259, note 4, read 'summam'; p. 264, read 'Velenus.' On p. 265 the point is quite missed; it is not 'an' but 'one.' There are typographical errors on pp. 35, 161.

The book is an interesting one, which well repays perusal, and we hope that Dr. Healy may give us further studies of the same kind.

The Domesday Inquest. By ADOLPHUS BALLARD. 'The Antiquary's Books.' (Methuen, 1906.) *7s. 6d.*

SINCE Mr. Frederick Seebohm published in 1883 his memorable *English Village Community*, a work which was promptly translated into German and so stimulated a line of research upon which the scholars of that country had already entered, England has contributed a fair share to the progress which has been made in the knowledge of Teutonic institutions. It has come chiefly from attention to law and custom, and the acknowledged masters of our early history, Stubbs and Freeman, did little to promote the advance. The former accepted as the soundest doctrine with which he was acquainted the somewhat vague teaching of such men as Maurer; the latter expatiated with

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an almost kindred fierceness upon the resolute independence and purity of blood of our primitive ancestors, an independence and purity which are now seriously discredited. Both were at home in a period somewhat later than that of the beginning of our agricultural institutions, and we cannot blame them because their great names have given authority to hypotheses which they themselves had taken on trust. Perhaps we may take the Domesday Commemoration of 1886 as the turning point in these studies; at any rate some of the papers printed in the two volumes marked a long step forward, while others are strangely archaic to a reader of the present day. But above all the names which are honourably distinguished in this pursuit stands that of Professor F. W. Maitland, whom we have now lost in the prime of his powers. His *Domesday Book and Beyond*, published in 1897, is illuminating in its review both of our knowledge and of our ignorance, and in its suggestions as to the best lines of progress. Mr. Ballard, who may be called a disciple of Maitland, in his study of Domesday, has not been content to leave the subject as he found it. He has his explanations of obscure points, some of them as successful as his treatment, in a previous work, of the defences of Oxford, and some less likely to be accepted. For very much in Domesday is still inexplicable, and we have perhaps reached the point where little more can be learned by interrogating the book and expecting it to interpret itself. Local knowledge, with which Mr. Ballard is well equipped for his own county of Oxford, is our best hope; and since we have so little opportunity of explaining the record by what lies behind it, we must try to reason backward from later and more familiar phases of the mediaeval system. But the staple of the volume is description, and not the tracing of antecedents, and in his descriptions, notably that of Church affairs, Mr. Ballard is very accurate and interesting, though here again in dubious points we cannot always agree with him. The scope of his work tempts him to systematize, even in defiance of probability, as when he assumes that the Essex Horndons, because they are not separately named, formed one unwieldy complex. Had they done so, it is inconceivable that the separate interests could have been dissected out and integrated afresh into the existing manors. For we must regard the common field system, when once established at the beginning of agricultural settlement, as an ultimate and unchangeable fact, and be ready to explain its earlier phases by its later, but not to assume that any revolutionary changes took place within it.

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And so when Mr. Ballard assumes that certain manors had no waste because no waste is named, we are not convinced. Without waste the system could not work, for there would be no pasture for the stock in an age which knew neither 'roots' nor cabbages. To persuade us, Mr. Ballard should have demonstrated that the ploughed land specified in Domesday exhausted the acreage of the parishes in question. Since he does not, we would remind him of the old delusion of Roman historians, who thought that the primitive Quirites lived on the produce of two *iugera* because that alone was named as their holding. In fact they subsisted on the crops from the public land which was appended to their little home-croft; and as it was deemed unnecessary to specify this, so we believe that the clerks of Domesday in some cases thought it needless to specify the waste which appertained to the ploughed fields of English villages. As to the arrangement of an English village, Mr. Ballard is rather unfortunate in the very symmetrical ideal which he has depicted. It resembles rather one of Meitzen's Slavonic types than a Teutonic community; and irregularity, one might say, was of the very essence of the primitive village. And his actual instance, that of Islip near Oxford, has been so much modified by successive changes that it is far less instructive than many existing examples that might have been chosen. But it is ungracious to dwell upon apparent defects in an excellent book. This is the best existing account in a brief compass of the organization of English society in 1086; and Mr. Ballard, if his picture is sometimes blurred, conveys by his very indistinctness a truer impression than an artificial clearness would give. He cannot fail to stimulate some of his readers to study Domesday for themselves; and indeed no portion of English history is more interesting or more fruitful.

A History of the Inquisition in Spain. By H. C. LEA, LL.D. Vols. III. and IV. (New York and London: The Macmillan Co., 1907.) Price 10*s.* 6*d.* each net.

DR. LEA'S last two volumes more than equal their predecessors in interest. They are, moreover, easier reading, for when once the Inquisitorial organization has been explained, there is less of technicality. The third volume opens with chapters on torture, the trial, the sentence, and the penalties inflicted. Here, indeed, some of the most customary phrases are not entirely obvious to the inexpert. *Relaxation*, for instance, is the euphemism for transference to the secular authorities for purposes of burning. *Reconciliation* implied frequently public

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penitence in *auto de fé*, emphasized by confiscation, the eternal stigma of the *sanbenito*, scourging, imprisonment, or the galleys. The detailed account of the trial fully bears out the author's previous condemnation of Inquisitorial justice. The very advocate, originally granted to the accused for his defence, became an official of the Inquisition, whose function it was to induce him to confess, and who, if he wished to perform the professional duties of defence, was allowed no facilities for collecting evidence. This wholly unjudicial procedure originated in part in the confusion between crime and sin; confession was really the main aim and object, an aim faithfully pursued even after the sentence had been publicly read. Between the *auto* and the place of execution friars implored the victims to confess, and success entailed the more merciful process of strangulation before burning. The same view also affected the penalties of reconciliation, which was regarded rather as a voluntary penance than a punishment. Public scourging, indeed, was merely a development of the very usual discipline, and was, in the case of regular clergy, inflicted under the name of circular discipline by all the victim's colleagues. Sentence to the galleys, however, admitted of no such justification; the custom was the result solely of the greed of Ferdinand, who wished to man his oars at a low cost.

The torture-chamber of the Inquisition has become a literary commonplace, but Dr. Lea ascribes the popular impression to sensational writers who have exploited credulity. Torture was less frequent and less cruel under the Spanish Inquisition than under the Papal, or than in contemporary secular courts. It was confined to the simpler methods, and care was taken that it should not endanger life, or even be of permanent injury to limb; for here also the object was not punishment but confession. The very usual penalty of long terms of imprisonment was, again, not so harsh as it sounds. Imprisonment was so expensive that it was rarely effective. The prisoners lived frequently in their own homes, and as they enjoyed the *fuero* of the Inquisition, they were not subject to the ten per cent. tax on sales, and could therefore undersell their neighbours. This explains the paradox of such sentences as perpetual imprisonment for six months. The great public *autos* have also impressed the imagination, especially as it is commonly, though wrongly, believed that the victims were burnt there and then. All nations have enjoyed their holidays of murder, but the Spaniards have suffered in the estimation of a humaner age

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from their incomparable skill in staging them. The power of organization shewed itself here as in the Inquisition itself. The *auto* was as superior to corresponding ceremonies in England, France, and Germany as was the Spanish art of illumination on public festivals. It waned, however, with the economic decline, and that of Madrid in 1680 was the last. The more private *autillo* (held usually in a church) always by far the commoner, henceforth supplanted the show-days of heresy.

Having tortured, tried, and sentenced his victims, Dr. Lea proceeds to analyze their origins. The main branches are Jews, Moriscos, and Protestants. He has told elsewhere the tragedy of the Moriscos at greater length, but it is one which can never fail to thrill. It is probably the greatest national crime that ever was perpetrated. Crypto-Judaism was, perhaps, at one time a real danger to race and religion, but the Moriscos were never perilous until disaffection was forced upon them. From an economic point of view the survival of the unfittest has been the process of evolution in Spain. The author's invariable sobriety of judgement is displayed in his treatment of Spanish Protestantism. The first page of his chapter contains the kernel of his argument. There was never the slightest danger that Protestantism would make permanent impression on the profound and unreasoning orthodoxy of Spain; the trivial epidemics in Valladolid and Seville in 1558 and 1559 left no trace in popular beliefs. Yet, coming when it did, it saved the Inquisition, which was at the moment at a loss for material, and gave it a firmer financial basis. It served as a reason for isolating Spain from Europe, excluding all foreign ideas, and prolonging medievalism into modern times. 'This was the true significance of this little Protestant movement and its repression, and it is this which deserves the attention of the student rather than the ghastly dramas of the *autos*.' After the break-up of the Seville and Valladolid congregations cases of Protestantism were almost confined to foreign residents or ships' crews, which frequently gave rise to diplomatic troubles.

Once again, just as the Inquisition seemed likely to expire from inanition, it was restored by the influx of Jewish *Conversos* from Portugal, which gave it ample employment for nearly a century and a half after the suppression of spasmodic Protestantism, and the expulsion of the Moriscos. Before the annexation of Portugal Judaism had almost died out in Spain, and there had been only sporadic cases such as that of Elvira del Campo in 1567, who, though living as a devout Christian,

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changed her chemise on Saturday, said that pork disagreed with her, and, when cooking it for her family, handled it with a rag because it made her hands smell. The refusal to eat buttered cakes and the alleged practice of soaking legs of mutton were also causes of grave suspicion. After 1580 almost all the serious cases were those of Judaism, and most of the victims were of Portuguese origin. During the sudden revival of Inquisitorial ferocity between 1721 and 1727, out of 868 cases, 820 were Judaizers. Of these 65 were executed in person, and 74 in effigy. In connexion with this subject Dr. Lea gives an interesting account of the foundation of the Portuguese Inquisition by João III, and of its long quarrel with the Papacy even after the national restoration. The Portuguese *Conversos* were wealthy, and used their money at Rome without stint, finding strange supporters in the Jesuits. Dr. Lea believes that the interference with commerce owing to confiscations was a considerable factor in the decadence of Portugal, while the disaffection of *Conversos* certainly contributed to Dutch successes in the colonies.

If there is little to be said in favour of the Inquisition's treatment of Jews, Moriscos, and Protestants, it is otherwise with mysticism and witchcraft. Both were apt to lead to gross sensual excesses, and indeed in Illuminism it was admittedly difficult to decide whether trances and impulses came from above or below. The hard common sense of the Suprema saved Spain from the epidemic of witchcraft which swept over Europe in the seventeenth century. Sorcery was treated contemptuously as illusion or imposture, and was punished with extreme moderation. Thus it never gained a hold upon popular imagination from pure fright. Dr. Lea shews that the two countries, Spain and Italy, which alone possessed a highly organized Inquisition, were the only two, Catholic or Protestant, which escaped the disgraceful holocausts of the seventeenth century. His estimate of 100,000 cases in Germany and 30,000 in Great Britain would by far exceed the total number of all serious crimes tried by the Inquisition during that period. The penalties moreover were infinitely more severe, for the Inquisition did not tear its victims with red-hot pincers nor roast them over slow fires. It would take a good many *autos* to equal the tale of so-called witches destroyed in intelligent New England.[1]

[1] Dr. Lea shews that the number of executions by the Inquisition has been vastly exaggerated by popular acceptance of Llorente's fallacious guesswork. It is now impossible to give complete figures

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The Spanish character was singularly prone to mysticism of an exaggerated type, which, as the Inquisition itself, illustrates the divorce between religion and morals that is such a constant feature in Spanish ecclesiastical history. The Inquisition did not seriously take it in hand until it became suspected of Protestant tendencies. There was no actual connexion, but the contempt for scholastic theology, for confession, indulgences, external observances, and works of charity produced a superficial resemblance. Henceforth the Inquisition pursued its struggle with mysticism, though with some vacillation, owing to the extreme difficulty of distinguishing heresy from sanctity. It was rather a chance whether a mystic was canonized or condemned. Saint Teresa was in danger of being shipped off to the colonies as 'a restless vagabond plunged in dissipation under pretext of religion,' while Ignatius Loyola was actually imprisoned. On the other hand Adrian VI asked the prayers for himself and the whole Church of the notorious Francisca Hernandez, a woman of extraordinary sexual attraction. But for the Inquisition, Spain would have been full of Saint Teresas with sensibilities degenerating into sensuality on the one side or imposture on the other. So inveterate was the mystical trend that it was the one field in which the Inquisition was not completely successful. 'It did good work,' writes Dr. Lea, 'in its ceaseless efforts to suppress this prostitution of mysticism, a work which no other tribunal could venture to attempt. If it found suppression impossible, at least it checked the development which at one time threatened to render the popular religion a matter of hysterics.' The account of the wonderful outbreak at Seville in 1622, the year of St. Teresa's canonization, proves this language to be none too strong.

In the eighteenth century the Inquisitors began to merge immoral mysticism with solicitation in the confessional, to which a separate chapter is devoted. The Inquisition took this under its charge not as a matter of morals but of faith, and, strictly speaking, only tried cases when impropriety took place during the hearing of the confession, and not before or after. Penalties were extremely light, and the standard of public opinion deplorably low; the most notorious seducers were allowed to continue their ministrations for years. In the last century of the Inquisition the number of cases of solicitation tried was 3,775. Nearly

but where Llorente's calculations can be compared with the records, the numbers are respectively: 6,209 (Llorente), 1,372 (Records).

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three-quarters of the accused came from the Regular Orders, and the Franciscans with the derived Orders had a most unenviable pre-eminence, numbering 1,297.

The action of the Inquisition in cases of bigamy also illustrates the distinction made between faith and morals, for it only properly took cognizance where the act could be made to imply a disbelief in the sacrament of marriage. The Suprema, however, naturally strove to extend its area of influence, and this is clearly seen in the censorship of books, which was gradually stretched to impropriety, not only in printed matter but in works of art, down to the exuberant charms of the wax busts in barbers' windows. The exquisite care with which readers were guarded against undesirable material was fatal to the book trade. Many books were, of course, altogether prohibited by the Index, but many more had objectionable passages blotted out with printer's ink, as is still done in the case of political matter in Russia or of sporting intelligence in some of our own public libraries. The engraved portraits, for instance, of the saintly Palafox, Bishop of Puebla, had the face thus expurgated. If this process was found too troublesome the pages containing offending passages were torn out. Inspection was extended to booksellers' shops, to private libraries, especially to those of the dead, to every ship reaching port. In 1741 the books of the Escurial were, indeed, excused expurgation on condition that the Inquisitor-General should keep the key of the secluded shelves, and that the Suprema should have the loan of such volumes as it needed. No branch of the Inquisition did so much to stunt the intellectual growth of Spain as the ridiculous exaggerations of the State licence to print, and the Inquisitorial censorship of all that was printed.

Dr. Lea rightly protests against the theory urged by historian after historian that the Crown constantly used the Inquisition for political purposes. When the reviewer has pressed this assertion home, he has always been met by the notorious case of Antonio Perez. It is here proved that this is the only instance of any importance, at all events before the Bourbon age. There was, indeed, the curious use of the Inquisition to reinforce the old law against the exportation of horses. Most of such horses made their way into France by Béarn, and hence the Inquisition was able to make the trade doubly dangerous by the pretext that they were intended for the use of heretics. The Crown and the Inquisition were closely allied, but far more often the Suprema abused the power of the Crown than did the Crown

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that of the Inquisition, which was only too independent of command.

The chapter on the decadence of the Inquisition down to its final extinction on July 15, 1834, is a useful commentary on Spanish political history, because its fortunes are the barometer which registers the alternations of revolution and reaction. Virtually 1820 saw the end, and the last victim in Spain was hanged, not by the Inquisition, but by an episcopal *Junta de Fé* (1826). He was condemned to be also burnt, but the orthodox conscience was satisfied by carrying the body to burial in a barrel on which flames were painted.

The final retrospect is one of the most important sections of the work. With admirable impartiality the author strives to allot the responsibility for Spanish decadence. He arraigns in turn monarchical misgovernment, economic errors, the national indolence, the inordinate growth of the Church. But he sums up against the Inquisition as being the chief offender. In a problem so complex no two thinkers will see entirely eye to eye. Perhaps the Inquisition was not so much a cause as a concurrent effect, a result of what may be termed a 'kink' in national character, of the tendency to exaggeration which may take the form of militarism or mysticism, of despotism or anarchism, which has produced the mania for purity of blood, for uniformity of religion. And we should attribute more weight than Dr. Lea to the national indolence, which is not incompatible with genius or with outbursts of extraordinary activity, of which it seems to hoard up a reserve. Indolence, and not the Habsburg, was the main cause of economic failure, and of the overgrowth of the Church. One effect may intensify another, and the Inquisition unquestionably fostered indolence by placing obstacles in the way of intellectual advancement. Similarly indolence induced the people to submit to the sole consistently energetic force in the nation, the Inquisition. In dating the decline of Spain from the 'fatal Burgundian inheritance' Dr. Lea proves too much, for this would confine her greatness to little more than twenty years. Is this sufficient to constitute national greatness? In these particular years the Inquisition did more positive mischief than in the whole remainder of its course, if the expulsion of the Moriscos under Philip III be excepted. Moreover the Italian ambitions and the consequent neglect of African conquest are to be ascribed not to Charles but to Ferdinand; the seed was sown from the very moment of Spanish unity. Aragon rather than Burgundy

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turned the force of Spain from West to East. Finally, it is well to notice that the rise and decline of the Inquisition were parallel with, and not previous to, the changes in national fortunes. Spanish literature cannot be called inferior to that of other nations in the reign of Philip IV, which Dr. Lea calls the apogee of the Inquisition. From that moment Spanish intellect, Spanish arms, and the Spanish Inquisition decline together.

This work is indeed a crown to Dr. Lea's long labours. Its science and its sympathy, its vast stores of knowledge, at once so skilfully and so honestly handled, make it, in our opinion, the greatest book on European history that has yet hailed from across the water.

The Bishops of Winchester from Birinus to Gardiner. By the Very Rev. W. R. W. STEPHENS and the Rev. W. W. CAPES. (Winchester: Warren, 1907.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE diocese of Winchester was till lately fortunate in possessing two of the most distinguished of our Church historians in the lamented Dean Stephens and Mr. Capes, now a Canon of Hereford. They did good service in preparing a popular account of the Bishops of their See for the Diocesan Chronicle, though it is unfortunate that no successor has been found to complete the series after Gardiner. The book, which is prettily illustrated, suffers in form from being produced with the same type as the original articles in the Chronicle; but it is an admirable summary and one quite comprehensible by the general readers for whom it was designed.

The Precedence of the English Bishops and the Provincial Chapter. By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1907.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

MOST of us have occasionally noticed the honorary rank of certain great sees as Provincial Dean, Sub-Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Chaplain of Canterbury. Canon Wordsworth has collected the material, very defective as it is, for the origin and history of these distinctions, which begin to appear in the latter part of the twelfth century. He has also compiled a good deal of other information concerning the precedence of bishops, and it is not his fault that no very definite conclusion results from his learned antiquarian disquisition.

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IV.—Doctrinal Theology.

The Holy Eucharist, with Other Occasional Papers. By P. N. Waggett, M.A., S.S.J.E. (John Murray, 1906.) 3s. 6d. net.

The Holy Eucharist. By the Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, Bishop of Newport. 'Westminster Library.' (Longmans, 1907.) 3s. 6d. net.

Eucharistic Sacrifice and Intercession for the Departed both Consistent with the Teaching of the Book of Common Prayer. A Course of Addresses by H. Mortimer Luckock, D.D., Dean of Lichfield. (Skeffington, 1907.) 2s. 6d. net.

The Scriptural Limitations of the Friends' Doctrine of the Sacraments. By William Tallack. Reprinted from *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, July, 1899. (London: Headley Bros.) 2d.

Father Waggett's *The Holy Eucharist* contains an address, the substance of which was delivered at Oxford to some members of the University in February, 1901; four shorter papers on the same subject; papers on Bible Reading, The Treasure of the Humble, The Manifold Unity of Christian Life, Worship, Redemption, Resurrection, The Epistle to the Ephesians, Intercession, Temporal Blessings, Christmas; and a concluding paper of great charm entitled 'Envoy: A Dream.' Some of the readers of this Review may have already seen a privately printed edition of the address on the Holy Eucharist. Those who have done so will probably be glad to possess it in this more permanent form. It exhibits in a very high degree the characteristic powers of the author. With the firm maintaining of the traditional doctrine of the Church there are combined an instinct for expression so as to appeal to minds influenced by current knowledge and theory which has probably been unsurpassed of late years, deep insight into the inner meaning of what is outward, and genuine fervour. Many a man of intellect and earnestness, to whom much true teaching about the Eucharist would hardly appeal at all, might find in this address and the shorter papers which follow it exactly what he needs in the way of illumination. Alike on the relation of Eucharistic doctrine to thought, and on its place in regard to the great movements of the soul in faith and devotion, all that Father Waggett says is most admirable. The other papers in the volume, though hardly of equal power, are marked by the same general characteristics, and are likely to be of great service to those whom they are

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designed to help. One of them—that on Bible Reading—originally appeared in our own pages; another—that entitled The Manifold Unity of Christian Life—formed an article in the *Journal of Theological Studies.*

Bishop Hedley's book is a very clear and careful statement concerning the Roman Catholic doctrine and practice about the Holy Eucharist. To Roman Catholics, and to others who wish to have an accurate idea of Roman Catholic teaching on this subject, it will be very valuable. But, with all its excellent qualities, it appears to us to be weak just where Father Waggett's book is strongest. It is calculated to remove very many misunderstandings and misapprehensions of Roman Catholic doctrine which are current in more quarters than one in the Church of England, to say nothing of elsewhere; but it contains little that is either illuminating or inspiring. In spite of the really spiritual character of its teaching, there is a tendency to slip into what is mechanical. The writer, possibly of set purpose, fails to bring out what has been most helpfully written by theologians in his own communion on the relation of the Eucharistic presence and sacrifice to our Lord's life in heaven. And it is to be regretted that, unlike some recent Roman Catholic writers, he lays stress on the element of destruction in sacrifice. There are many points which we might criticize; but we will only say that, if details about the teaching of the Fathers are given at all, it is not right completely to ignore elements of which we here read nothing; that we think Bishop Hedley has misunderstood some passages in Bishop Gore's *The Body of Christ*; and that we wish he had guarded against a possible misapprehension of his statement that 'unfermented grape juice,' 'at least if recent, is valid matter, though unlawful.' No instructed theologian would misunderstand the last statement; but a great many uninstructed persons might suppose that it implied the validity in some circumstances of the use of what is called 'unfermented wine.'

The Dean of Lichfield's little treatise has the value which we have learnt to expect in books from his pen. It is clear and fresh, and eminently likely to be of use to persons such as form a large part of educated congregations in English churches. The Dean has the gifts of an instructor, and takes pains to use them, and this book may help many to know more about the sacrifice and intercession for the departed in the Eucharist, and their place in the system of the Church of England. In some small points its accuracy leaves something to be desired. Is it the case that the Syriac Peshitto version is of 'the close of the first century'?

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To say that ἀνάμνησις 'in the Greek of the Scriptures' is 'restricted to a "memorial before God,"' and 'had never been understood' in them 'in any other sense' is to forget Wisdom xvi. 6. That the Liturgy in the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* gives 'the Form of Liturgy in use at the beginning of the fourth century' is a statement which will hardly meet with the approval of the best liturgical scholars.

Mr. Tallack's paper is short but of great interest. It is an earnest plea for a recognition among the Society of Friends of at least the lawfulness of individuals making use of the Sacraments. Mr. Tallack, as is natural, does not agree with the teaching of the Church of England about either Baptism or the Eucharist; but from the point of view of their subjective value he argues with clearness and good sense and charity for an allowance of them as not unlawful for members of the Society of Friends.

Baptismon Didache, or Scriptural Studies on Baptisms, especially Christian Baptism. By PHILALETHES. (Bemrose, 1907.) *7s. 6d.* net.

INTERNAL evidence shews that the author is a member of, or at least accepts the tenets of, the religious body which is described by its adherents as the 'Catholic Apostolic Church,' and is usually known as the 'Irvingite' community. His book contains a large amount of information; it is temperately and clearly written, though not very well arranged; there is very much in it with which Eastern Christians and Roman Catholics and English Church people can agree. We have noticed a very few mistakes as to matters of fact, as, for instance, when it is said that Eastern Christians 'rebaptize all Romanists who are admitted to their communion,' and 'do not baptize their children till they are three, five, six, ten, and even sometimes eighteen years of age,' and when 'aspersion' as well as 'affusion' is included in 'the modes of administration generally adopted in the Roman Church.' The writer appears to think that Baptism by immersion was more universal in the early Church than we consider is likely to have been the case. He speaks of the *Epistle of Barnabas* as the work of the 'companion and fellow labourer of St. Paul.' He preserves the characteristic teaching of Edward Irving that the flesh which our Lord took in the Incarnation was 'fallen flesh,' though he is careful to define this as human nature that was 'weak, subject to disease, corruption, and death, and to infirmities which were not in themselves necessarily sinful, although the

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result of sin,' and to add that 'Christ was absolutely holy—originally, constitutionally, and actually—and no spot of sin attached to Him, nor to the nature which He sanctified on its assumption, though its natural infirmities inhered.'

The After Life: A Help to a Reasonable Belief in the Probation Life to Come. By HENRY BUCKLE, of the Burma Commission (retired). (Elliot Stock, 1907.) 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

THIS is a painstaking collection of passages from Holy Scripture bearing on the state after death and the destiny of the departed, together with very many quotations from modern writers, of differing opinions, and comments and discussions by the author. The conclusion drawn is that there is a state of probation after death, and that, while all those who have turned to God either early or late will eventually enter eternal joy, the finally impenitent will be blotted out of existence. Without making detailed criticisms which the limits of our space do not permit, we may point out that this view does not allow for the general sense in Scripture and the traditional teaching of the Church on the solemnity of the decisions made in this life. We do not know how the author could support by quotations from authoritative documents the very positive statement that 'The Anglican Church teaches that there is no final judgement immediately after death, but that the spirits of the faithful and of the wicked all go to Hades, which is divided into many spheres, and they are all given every opportunity of becoming purified and gradually made perfect.'

V.—BIOGRAPHY AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Wesley and his Century. A Study in Spiritual Forces. By W. H. FITCHETT, B.A., LL.D., Principal of the Methodist Ladies' College, Hawthorn, Melbourne. (Smith, Elder and Co., 1906.) 6*s.* net.

The Life of John Wesley. By C. T. WINCHESTER, Professor of English Literature in Wesleyan University, U.S.A. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1906.) 6*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE former of these two books covers a considerably wider field than the latter, and is a work of much interest to a Churchman. John Wesley's life is presented in a most interesting form, and the man is made to stand before us with his faults

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as well as with his virtues; it is a clear and faithful biography of a wonderful worker for the salvation of souls, well written, and with many beautiful paragraphs. The author is a practical writer, and, from an enthusiastically Methodist point of view, he gives a clear estimate of John Wesley, his life and opinions and work. Of one great feature in that work we give a study elsewhere in the present number.[1]

He boldly faces the difficulty which is caused by the obviously opportunist origin of the Methodist polity, and by the way in which the most cherished beliefs of the founder have been set aside by the Wesleyan community since his death. Dr. Fitchett has no hesitation in dwelling fully upon the strong Churchmanship of Wesley and his repeated efforts to preserve his society from drifting into schism; but he points to the success of Methodism as the proof that the society was wiser than its founder, or rather that Divine Providence has overruled Wesley's hesitation for good.

But it is surely early days in which to point to the permanence and growth of the Methodist body as a proof. Already, in England at any rate, the class-meeting is disappearing, and the fatal 'fertility in divisions' (p. 529) which has marked its history would make one hesitate before prophesying the condition of Methodism at the close of the second century of its career. Dr. Fitchett claims that Methodism 'satisfies Newman's famous seven tests of the reality of a Church—preservation of type, continuity of principle, power of assimilation, logical sequence, anticipation of the future, conservative action in the past, and—most triumphant of all—undying vitality' (p. 528). This is surely a large claim for a community not four generations old, and is quoted here, not as a sample of the book, but as the expression of an ardent Methodist who rejoices in the growth of the body to which he belongs.

The paragraph at the bottom of p. 102 is hardly just to the teaching of the Church of England with regard to sponsors, and should be rewritten for any subsequent edition. There is a misprint on p. 476—1870 for 1880.

Mr. Winchester's book is almost entirely occupied with the account of John Wesley's life, which we think has been better told by Dr. Fitchett. This sentence on p. 70, 'His soul is saved because he has found his work,' does not express the writer's meaning.

[1] See the article '*John Wesley and the Psychology of Revivals.*

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1. *The Life of Edward Henry Bickersteth, D.D., Bishop and Poet.* By F. K. AGLIONBY, M.A. (Longmans, 1907). 6s. 6d.
2. *A Pastoral Bishop: A Memoir of Alexander Chinnery-Haldane, D.D., sometime Bishop of Argyll and the Isles.* By T. I. BALL, D.D., Provost, Cumbrae Cathedral. (Longmans, 1907.) 6s. 6d.
3. *A Book of the Charges of the Right Rev. Alexander Chinnery-Haldane, D.D., sometime Bishop of Argyll and the Isles.* Edited by ELEANOR C. GREGORY. (Mowbray & Co., 1906.) 3s. 6d. net.

THE two episcopal biographies from the same publishers, identical in form, type, and price, naturally present interesting points of similarity and contrast and inevitably suggest comparisons that run the risk of proverbial odium. Neither of the men stands out prominently in the ecclesiastical history of his time, but each of them filled his place with commendable ability and success. Widely divergent in many religious opinions, the influence of both alike was founded upon a personal piety, exceptionally transparent and strong. Each was providentially guided along a path free from the trials which give piquancy and interest to many a modern episcopate; whilst the wider field of action and the broader sympathies of the English bishop supply more variety and colour than the level tints which suffice to depict the career of the Scottish prelate—a contrast which personal gifts and activities brought out into high relief. The stimulating experience of an English bishopric can hardly fail to call into action all a man's latent powers, and in Bishop Bickersteth's case they helped to develop a mind already enriched with high poetic talent and to fan the flame of a burning and hereditary missionary zeal. It is useless, as it would be difficult, to compare a character so moulded with that of one so differently conditioned as the Bishop of Argyll and the Isles.

The life of Edward Henry Bickersteth was the natural and consistent outcome of heredity and early environment. Three-quarters of a century ago the name of Edward Bickersteth of Watton was a household word in every Evangelical English home. Missionary zeal, literary activities, earnest pastoral work and strict Evangelical doctrine formed the atmosphere of what was then a model country rectory. 'Like father, like son.' It was the same saintly, cultured, devoted parish priest, with the fuller life insensibly generated by the lapse of more than

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half a century, that was called in 1885 to the see of Exeter, vacated by translation to London. A stronger contrast could hardly be imagined than that between the burning vigour of the retiring bishop and the quiet energy of his successor. But after a first interview Temple's verdict was favourable and emphatic. 'That man will do, he is so transparently good.' A short notice does not admit of enlarging upon details. The note of the life is saintliness which finds expression now in the production of such poetry as 'Peace, Perfect Peace,' and 'Yesterday, To-day and For Ever'; now, in personal ministrations to suffering souls; now, in the exercise of spiritual insight which can recognize holiness in those whose convictions differed widely from his own; now (to use his own expression), in pouring his soul into his firstborn son, whom he gave as an offering to God in the mission field. Mr. Aglionby has given us a beautiful picture of one whom to know must have been to love.

Dr. Ball's method of presenting in his opening pages the *résumé* and appreciation which is usually reserved to the conclusion does not commend itself to our judgement. We think it more interesting to mark the gradual development of character and opinions through the evolution of events and the influence of environment than to be directed at the outset to conclusions we would rather have formed independently for ourselves. In the present instance, however, some needful details were wanting and we have only the writer's conjecture to explain Chinnery-Haldane's passage from the Evangelicalism of his childhood to the fullest acceptance of the Anglo-Catholic position. The ample fortune acquired by marriage with an Irish heiress and the generous devotion of a share of it to Church purposes early gave him special opportunities of service in the Scottish Church and prepared the way for his unanimous election to the Bishopric of Argyll and the Isles, a high honour which was fully justified by his personal energy and devotion. The life which Dr. Ball portrays is singularly uneventful. The pathetic story of Mr. Mackonochie's death and the mournful disappointment of plans so munificently designed at Cumbrae were crises in which the Bishop displayed the highest devotion, faith and courage. In public ministrations the exceptional position taken up concerning the 'Minister of Baptism' and the attempted revision of the Scottish Communion Office are specially noticeable. The full and formal expression of the Bishop's mature judgement will be found in the small volume of Charges, delivered at the annual diocesan Synod and admirably edited by

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Miss Gregory. These bear witness of the deep personal godliness of the writer and largely explain the influence, springing from the innate power of reality, which Bishop Chinnery-Haldane wielded, and which puzzled mere cursory acquaintance.

On the vital doctrine of the eternal Godhead of the Christ and of the Holy Ghost—the very breath of orthodox Christianity—the two prelates were absolutely at one; whilst a wide divergence is seen in their attitude towards many other important questions. 'There are diversities of gifts, but the same spirit; and there are differences of ministrations, but the same Lord.' The value of such records of quiet and unobtrusive ministry lies in their enforcing the lesson, too apt to be forgotten in a restless and self-advertizing age, that not the more outstanding and conspicuous lives are necessarily those of the greatest usefulness. By the secret leaven of deep spiritual influence the Church is most effectually built up and extended.

Life and Letters of Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb, O.M., Litt.D. By his wife, CAROLINE JEBB. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1907.) 10s. net.

THIS book is not merely a record of the work of one of the greatest classical scholars of the Victorian age, it is also a charming description of an attractive, lovable, and eminently successful man—a man, too, who carried his success into regions where his own peculiar characteristics might have seemed likely to prevent or impede it. He was a fastidious and refined scholar, who controlled and influenced the somewhat turbulent elements which Scottish University classes are sure to contain; a very shy and sensitive man, who yet kept his head and made his mark in parliamentary life.

Born of cultivated Irish parents, and endowed with powers of mind which matured early, Jebb carried everything before him during his school career at Charterhouse. When he went up to Cambridge in 1858 his fame had preceded him. Those who were a little junior to him at the University, and who knew him, perhaps, only by reputation or by sight, were aware that his lot had placed him in a specially good year, and that nevertheless he retained his lead in it without seeming to extend himself. They knew that he joined freely (though with the moderation which distinguished him through life) in the ordinary pleasures of an undergraduate, and they had an instinctive feeling that whatever he tried to do he would do it better than others. What, perhaps, they failed to realize was how very

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young he was. He was only just seventeen when he entered Trinity, and considerably under twenty-one when he was Senior Classic. His extreme youth forms some excuse for the failure of the authorities of his College to elect him Fellow when he first stood, and probably the disappointment was good for the sufferer in the long run.

The relations which existed between him and his distinguished tutor, Dr. Lightfoot, are pleasant to contemplate. At a later period (1872) he writes:

> 'There is nothing I enjoy more than going with him to the Cumberland Lakes. . . . Alone with Lightfoot there, in that splendid country, talking in our long walks about things we both really care for, it has been possible sometimes to forget the hard side of life and to live for the time in better things—in a region above the frost-line of perpetual shams and misunderstandings.'

These sentences are taken from one of a series of letters addressed to his future wife before their engagement. Lady Jebb was fortunate to possess them, and wise to give such copious extracts to the public. They were written before the pair were on those intimate terms when the innermost thoughts are often left to be understood, or reserved for discussion by word of mouth; yet he was near enough to her to be ready to open his heart on the subjects for which he cared most, in a way which clever University men—often afraid of the cleverness of their comrades—are reluctant to employ in their communications with each other.

Throughout the whole of his successful career Jebb united a certain sort of ambition with a large share of diffidence. He was ambitious in the sense that he was aware of the possession of great powers, and felt a moral obligation to make the widest possible use of them, while his diffidence was shewn in his constantly expecting to fail, and having at hand abundant arguments for proving, after success, the reasonableness of his anticipation of failure. After his Tripos examination (February 1862) he writes: 'Do not mention what I am going to tell you. I want to save you some disappointment. I have *failed utterly* in the examination.' And, after the List was published: 'I . . . am still entirely at a loss to imagine how I came out so well.' A little more than seven years later he was standing for the Public Oratorship, again believing he had very little chance, and when he was elected he was ingenious in declining to accept any credit. 'The overwhelming majority by which

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I was elected was a triumph, not for me but for Trinity. If I had been of any other College I should not have had a chance.' There was, no doubt, much truth in this, for college partisanship was at that time the Cambridge equivalent for the ecclesiastical party spirit which had prevailed, at a somewhat earlier date, at Oxford.

On October 11, 1891, Jebb was returned unopposed as Member of Parliament for his University, and he retained the seat till his death. He proved to be admirably fitted to form one of that small band of academical members who have done what they could to elevate the tone of discussions in Parliament during the last twenty years. To suit these peculiar constituencies a tone of enlightened conservatism is required, and this is just what Jebb by nature, training, and habit possessed. He was essentially a Moderate, but with a kind of enthusiastic moderation born of largeness of mind and balance of idea, fostered by a keen sense of humour, and containing nothing of conventionality or compromise. This habit of mind, which was just what was wanted for his parliamentary position, stood him in good stead also in his scholarship. Great as his edition of Sophocles is admitted to be, its greatness is not owing to startling emendations or destructive criticism; it is rather the old story of his doing what other people also did, but doing it better; it is for greater insight, more complete poetic sympathy, higher refinement of scholarship that it is remarkable. Dr. Verrall, in his interesting chapter on Jebb 'The scholar and the critic,' says of him: 'Because he loved and seized upon the subtlest departure from the commonplace, and delighted in tracing it to the obscure motive, for this very reason he disliked a freak.' So did Sophocles, and Jebb shewed his good sense in choosing as his subject for a commentary an artist whose mind was so completely in accord with his own.

Essays and Addresses. By Sir Richard Jebb, Litt.D., O.M. Late Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1907.) 10s. 6*d. net.*

To those who think of the late Professor Jebb as in the main a Hellenist, and especially as the greatest of Sophoclean scholars, the publication or re-issue of these seventeen papers will serve as a reminder that he was a great deal more than a brilliant editor of Sophocles, though, as is fitting, the genius of that poet takes the front place in this collection, and is followed by 'Pindar,' 'The Age of Pericles,' 'Ancient Organs of Public

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Opinion': then, after some shorter but vividly interesting papers on 'Lucian,' 'Delos,' 'Froude's Cæsar,' and 'Erasmus,' the famous and invaluable disquisition on 'The Speeches of Thucydides' re-appears after many years from *Hellenica*, the excellent cluster of Essays edited by the late Evelyn Abbott. The following paper, 'Sophocles and the Trilogy,' has a special interest; it is, if we mistake not, the 'Exposition' delivered by Dr. Jebb when he was candidate for the Professorship of Greek at Cambridge. Then, somewhat unexpectedly, the great scholar breaks more modern ground, by a short but vigorous lecture on 'Samuel Johnson,' given at Newnham College. Of the remaining six lectures, that on 'Humanism in Education' gave the sister University its chance: Jebb was appointed to deliver the Romanes Lecture at Oxford: its final paragraphs have a grace all their own :—

'It has been a great privilege for me to address such an audience on this subject. I am well aware how little I have had to say that can be new to many of my hearers; but it may be good sometimes, in the case of studies which are so important for the intellectual well-being of the nation, to pause and think what they mean and where they stand; to look back and to look forward. The endeavour to do so, however defective the result may be, is at least one which cannot be foreign to the traditions or the genius of the place in which I have had the honour to speak.'

The final essay—'University Education and National Life'—was written for the meeting of the British Association in South Africa. There is a pathos in observing its date—1905! he had drawn very near the place where 'sat the Shadow fear'd of man'!

There is a singular charm about the papers—such, *e.g.*, as 'Lucian,' where the essayist deals with the light mockery of the Samosatene and his exposure of Alexander the False Prophet; and 'Delos,' comprising the explorations of M. Lebègue and M. Homolle. But perhaps the most unexpected thing is the article (pp. 279–322) on 'Froude's Cæsar.' Round the name of Froude and the antagonisms which he aroused there broods a mist of controversy which it is difficult to 'think away.' All the more pleasant is it to find Jebb's generous estimate of the elder scholar's work. The two men were very unlike in temperament: in the equable calm of Jebb's estimates of men and things, Froude had small share; but both men had a high-minded perception of real greatness. 'Cæsar,' says Jebb, 'once victorious in the Civil War, was stopped by no barricades; he was confronted with his own conscience.'

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PERIODICALS.

The Journal of Theological Studies (Vol. IX. No. 34. January 1908. Frowde). W. H. Moberly: 'The Theology of Dr. Du Bose.' Sir H. H. Howorth: 'The Origin and Authority of the Biblical Canon according to the Continental Reformers. II. Luther, Zwingli, Lefèvre, and Calvin.' C. Jenkins: 'Origen on I. Corinthians,' I. From MS. Vat. Gr. 762. F. E. Brightman: 'The *Historia Mystagogica* and other Greek Commentaries on the Byzantine Liturgy,' I. H. L. Pass: 'The Creed of Aphraates.' F. R. M. Hitchcock: 'The *Apostolic Preaching* of Irenaeus.' F. C. Burkitt: (1) '"Chief Priests" in the Latin Gospels.' (2) 'Secus.' As a preposition. W. Lock: 'Philo's Interpretation of Leviticus xviii. 18.' A. E. Burn: 'Some Spanish MSS. of the Constantinopolitan Creed.' Attempts to trace the addition of 'Et Filio.' Reviews. F. C. Burkitt: 'E. S. Buchanan *Old Latin Biblical Texts, V.*' The codices *ff* (Gospels) and *h* (Acts). S. de Ricci and E. O. Winstedt: 'Balestri *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta copto-sahidica Musei Borgiani.*' W. E. Crum: 'Leipoldt *Geschichte der Koptischen Literatur.*' H. F. Stewart: 'Saintyves *Les Saints successeurs des Dieux.*'

The Expositor (Nos. 25–7. January–March 1908. Hodder and Stoughton). Sir W. M. Ramsay: 'The Morning Star and the Chronology of the Life of Christ.' Discusses Col. Mackinlay's book on *The Magi.* J. G. Simpson: 'The Teaching of Edward Irving.' J. Orr: 'The Resurrection of Jesus,' I. (II. February, III. March). J. H. Moulton: 'Lexical Notes from the Papyri, IV.' (V. February, VI. March). A. Deissmann: 'New Testament Philology.' J. Moffatt: 'Materials for the Preacher,' I. (II. February, III. March). S. A. Cook: 'Supplementary Notes on the New Aramaic Papyri.' February. R. H. Strachan: 'The Personality of the Fourth Evangelist.' D. S. Margoliouth: 'Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus.' J. Rendel Harris: 'Dr. Gregory and the Text of New Testament.' G. G. Findlay: 'The Parable of the Pearl-Merchant.' March. A. E. Garvie: 'Studies in the Pauline Theology. I. The Experience of Paul.' J. Rendel Harris: 'The Present State of the Controversy over the Place and Time of the Birth of Christ.' J. Moffatt: 'The New Schürer.' J. de Zwaan: 'Shaking out the Lap.' A. R. Eagar: 'St. Luke's Account of the Last Supper: a Critical Note on the Second Sacrament.' R. H. Strachan: 'Notes and Appreciations of Recent Foreign Theology.'

The Hibbert Journal (Vol. VI. No. 2. January 1908. Williams and Norgate). G. Tyrrell: 'The Prospects of Modernism.' J. Gerard, S.J. 'The Papal Encyclical from a Catholic's Point of View.' L. H. Schwab: 'The Papacy in its Relation to American Ideals.' Bishop of Carlisle: 'The Catholic Church: What is it?' Sir O. Lodge: 'The Immortality of the Soul, I. The Transitory and the Permanent.' W. Wallace: 'The Religion of Sensible Scotsmen.' N. Schmidt: 'The *Jerahmeel* Theory and the historic Importance of the Negeb; with some Account of Personal Exploration of the Country.' J. H. Muirhead: 'Religion a Necessary Constituent in all Education.' G. A. Coe: 'The Sources of the Mystical Revelation.' E. S. Moore: 'The Magic and Mysticism of To-day.' W. Adams Brown: 'The Reasonableness of Christian Faith.' L. P. Jacks: The Alchemy of Thought.' Discussions. W. Hinkley: 'The Gospe

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of Krishna and of Christ.' (Replies to the article in *H. J.* October 1907). Reviews. G. Tyrrell: 'H. Bergson *L'Évolution créatrice*' (6½ pages). G. Galloway: 'Eucken *Hauptprobleme der Religionsphilosophie der Gegenwart*' and 'A. K. Rogers *Religious Conception of the World.*' G. E. Moore: 'Rashdall *Theory of Good and Evil.*' W. C. Allen: 'Orde Ward (and others) *Lux Hominum.*' A. E. Garvie: 'Salmon *The Human Element in the Gospels.*' J. E. Carpenter: 'E. F. Scott *The Fourth Gospel*' and 'H. P. Forbes *The Johannine Literature and the Acts of the Apostles.*' H. C. Corrance: 'Saintyves *Les Saints successeurs des Dieux*'; 'A. Dupin *Le Dogme de la Trinité dans les trois premiers siècles.*' B. de Sélincourt: 'E. Caird *Lay Sermons and Addresses.*' G. G. Coulton: 'H. C. Lea *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy*, 3rd edition.'

The Dublin Review (Vol. CXLII. No. 284. January 1908. Burns and Oates). 'The Encyclical *Pascendi.*' R. H. Benson: 'The Letters of Queen Victoria.' Viscount St. Cyres: 'A French Chesterfield.' Chevalier de Méré (b. 1610). Mgr. A. S. Barnes: 'The Religion of Charles II.' W. Ward: 'Fr. Ignatius Ryder—a Reminiscence.' F. J. Bacchus: 'The Roman Church down to the Neronian Persecution.' J. Chambers: 'Catholic Records in the Diocese of Chester.' 'A Student and Social Worker of the Eighteenth Century.' Maria Gaetana Agnesi. W. H. Kent: 'Olden Faiths and New Philosophies.' Discusses Mr. W. S. Lilly's *Many Mansions.* A. Meynell: 'Some Memories of Francis Thompson.' Reviews. '*The Catholic Encyclopaedia.*' 'Wirgman *The Blessed Virgin and all the Company of Heaven.*' 'Harnack *Luke the Physician*' [E.T.]. 'Swete *Commentary on the Apocalypse*' ('Admirable'). 'M. de Wulf *Scholasticism New and Old.*' 'L. Ragg *Dante and his Italy.*' 'Pirie-Gordon *Innocent the Great.*' B. C. A. W[indle]: 'Chatterton-Hill *Heredity and Selection in Sociology.*' 'Illingworth *Doctrine of the Trinity*' ('The author deserves the thanks of all who are fighting for fundamental Christianity'). 'Sanday *Life of Christ in Recent Research.*' 'Birt *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement*' (lengthy). 'H. Quentin *Les Martyrologes historiques du Moyen Age*' ('of first-rate importance').

The London Quarterly Review (No. 217. January 1908. R. Culley). W. T. Davison: 'The Changeless Gospel and the Modern Mind.' T. A. Seed: 'The Letters of Queen Victoria.' J. J. Findlay: 'The People and the Schools.' W. W. Holdsworth: 'The Synoptic Problem.' U. A. Forbes: 'Socialism.' P. A. Davis: 'A Study of Conversion.' M. G. Pearse: 'Thomas Coryat, a Forgotten Pilgrim.' A. Brown: 'The Mystery of Predestination.' R. C. Cowell: 'The Call of the Children.' Notes: 'The New Methodist Church in Japan.' J. G. Tasker: 'Gerhard Tersteegen.' Reviews: 'J. H. F. Peile *The Reproach of the Gospel.*' 'F. Weston *The One Christ*' (laudatory). 'K. Lake *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*' ('The point of view is frankly naturalistic'). 'W. Sanday *Life of Christ in Recent Research.*' 'Illingworth *The Doctrine of the Trinity Apologetically considered.*' 'J. Scott-Lidgett *The Christian Religion.*' 'B. W. Randolph *Christ in the Old Testament*' ('A real help to faith'). 'T. M. Lindsay *The Reformation*, I.–II.' '*Letters of Sir R. C. Jebb.*' '*Cambridge History of English Literature*, I.' 'D. S. Margoliouth *Cairo, Jerusalem, and Damascus.*' 'M. McMillan *Labour and Childhood*' (very favourable). 'Sir R. Anderson *Criminals and Crime.*

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The Irish Theological Quarterly (Vol. III. No. 9. January 1908. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, Ltd.). P. J. Toner: 'The Encyclical on Modernism.' J. Shine: 'The Place of Modernism as a Philosophy of Religion.' P. McKenna: 'Absolution from Reserved Sins,' II. (I. July 1907). J. MacRory: 'Recent Criticism and the Authorship of the Fourth Gospel.' W. McDonald: 'The Living Wage.' J. MacCaffrey: 'The Origin and Development of Cathedral Chapters in the Irish Church.' Reviews. W. McDonald: 'E. Wasmann, S.J. *Der Kampf um das Entwicklungsproblem in Berlin*'; 'P. Schanz *A Christian Apology*.' J. MacRory: '*The Fifth Gospel*'; 'Randolph *Christ in the Old Testament*.' J. M. Harty: 'J. Schrijvers *Manuel d'Économie politique*' (useful information as to Belgium). J. MacCaffrey: 'J. O'Hanlon and E. O'Leary *History of the Queen's County*.' P. McKenna: 'Dean Ovenden *Deep Questions*' (lengthy). P. J. Toner: 'F. J. Hall *Introduction to Dogmatic Theology*' (favourable). P. Boylan: 'Nairn *S. Chrysostom De Sacerdotio*.'

The American Journal of Theology (Vol. XII. No. 1. January 1908. Chicago University Press). C. H. Toy: 'On some Conceptions of the Old Testament Psalter.' G. F. Moore: 'Notes on the Name JHVH.' An interesting historical study. F. C. Porter: 'The Pre-existence of the Soul in the Book of Wisdom and in the Rabbinical Writings. I. In *Wisdom*.' 63 pages. A. O. Lovejoy: 'Pragmatism and Theology.' Reviews. H. A. A. Kennedy: 'Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*.' W. R. Ryder: 'E. A. Abbott *Silanus the Christian* and *Apologia*.' W. Adams Brown: 'A. H. Strong *Systematic Theology*' (eighth edition). G. Cross: 'H. H. Wendt *System der Christlichen Lehre*'; 'W. A. Brown *Christian Theology in Outline*.' D. C. Macintosh: 'W. James *Pragmatism*'; 'J. M. Sterrett *Freedom of Authority*'; 'A. K. Rogers *The Religious Conception of the World: an Essay in Constructive Philosophy*.' E. S. Ames: 'J. B. Pratt *The Psychology of Religious Belief*.' W. C. Keirstead: 'H. C. Sheldon *Unbelief in the Nineteenth Century*'; 'J. C. Oman *The Problem of Faith and Freedom in the Last Two Centuries*.' C. R. Henderson: 'Rauschenbusch *Christianity and the Social Crisis*.'

The Princeton Theological Review (Vol. VI. No. 1. January 1908. Princeton University Press). E. Russell: 'John Knox as Statesman.' J. O. Boyd: 'Ezekiel and the Pentateuch.' 'By and large (*sic*), from Genesis to Numbers, the Priests' code finds its confirmation as a pre-exilic document from the way it stands comparison with the points of contact in the book of Ezekiel.' C. W. Hodge: 'The Idea of Dogmatic Theology.' L. M. Sweet: 'Heathen Wonder Births and the Birth of Christ.' Discusses 'Hartland's *Legend of Perseus*, Curtiss' *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, Rhys-Davids' *Buddhist Birth Stories*, Edmunds' *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*,' etc. Reviews. W. B. Greene, Jr.: '*Carma The Religion of Evolution*' (critical); 'J. C. Oman *Problem of Faith and Freedom*'; 'J. N. Cushing *Christ and Buddha*' and 'Soyen Shaku *Sermons of a Buddhist Abbot*' (very favourable); 'S. Mathews *The Church and the Changing Order*.' J. D. Davis: 'C. H. H. Wright *Daniel and His Prophecies*' (critical). B. B. Warfield: 'Weinel *St. Paul*' [E.T.]; 'Bousset *Jesus*' ('the baldest Socinianism': 5 pages); 'J. J. Jansen *De Leer van den persoon en het Werk van Christus bij Tertullianus*' (an interesting dissertation); 'F. J. McConnell *The Diviner Immanence*'; 'Fechner

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On Life after Death ' [E.T.] and ' C. H. Hall *The Redeemed Life after Death.*' W. P. Armstrong : ' J. Weiss (edited by) *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments.*' J. G. Machen : ' K. Meyer *Der Zeugniszweck des evangelisten Johannes.*' G. H. Gilbert : ' W. B. Smith *Der vorchristliche Jesus.*' (By a Louisiana Professor of Mathematics writing in German, and with a preface by Professor Schmiedel, who disagrees with him entirely !) S. Dickey : ' J. H. Moulton *Grammar of N.T. Greek,*' I. H. E. Dosker : ' C. Spoelstra *Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederduitsch-gereformdeere Kerken in Zuid Afrika,*' I. 1. 1655–1804. (A very important collection of documents.) C. R. Erdman : ' J. E. H. Williams *Life of Sir George Williams* ' ; ' G. A. J. Ross *The Universality of Jesus.*' L. S. Mudge : ' I. M. Price *The Ancestry of Our English Bible* ' (popular). C. W. Hodge : ' R. J. Campbell *The New Theology* ' (5½ pages : unfavourable) ; ' Haering *Der christliche Glaube.*' (Ritschlian.)

The Review and Expositor (Vol. V. No. 1. January 1908. Louisville, Ky.). E. C. Dargan : ' A Study of Homiletical Theory.' W. W. Everts : ' Plato's Theology.' R. J. Drummond : ' The Purpose and Forms of New Testament Eschatology.' W. T. Whitley : ' The Story of Missions in Five Continents, IV. Expansion in America and Australia.' S. N. Roach : ' The Epistle to the Romans studied through its Deductive Logical Forms, II.' Reviews. C. S. Gardner : ' R. J. Campbell *New Theology Sermons.*' E. C. Dargan : ' S. Mathews *The Church and the Changing Order.*' W. J. McGlothlin : ' H. C. Sheldon *Unbelief in the Nineteenth Century* ' ; ' R. G. Moulton *Modern Reader's Bible* ' ; ' K. G. Goetz *Die heutige Abendmahlsfrage in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* ' ; ' C. Burrage *The Retractation of Robert Browne, Father of Congregationalism.*' ' P. Gardner *Growth of Christianity* ' ; ' G. W. Knox *Development of Religion in Japan.*' C. Goodspeed : ' R. Otto *Naturalism and Religion.*' J. R. Sampey : ' Jeremias *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients* ' ; ' H. Schmidt *Jona* ' (suggestive and good). B. H. de Ment : ' Briggs *Psalms,* II.' ; ' Burton and Mathews *Principles and Ideals for the Sunday School* ' (very favourable). A. T. Robertson : ' Sanday *Life of Christ in Recent Research* ' ; ' W. H. Bennett *Life of Christ according to St. Mark* ' ; ' J. Orr *The Virgin-Birth of Christ.*' G. B. Eager : ' G. H. Ferris *Th Formation of the New Testament* ' (six pages : favourable).

The Jewish Quarterly Review (Vol. XX. No. 78. January 1908. Macmillan). H. H. Spoer : ' Some New Considerations towards the dating of the Book of Malachi.' The Key is Mal. i. 4 which refers to time of the high priest Jonathan (c. 153 B.C.). N. Porges : ' Eine Geniza-Studie.' (On K.) E. J. Worman : ' The Exilarch Bustānī.' S. Poznański : (1) ' The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon in the Fourteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries ' (*continued*), (2) ' Addenda and corrigenda to *J.Q.R.* X. (The Anti-Karaite Writings of Saadiah Gaon).' A. Marx : ' The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain : Two new Accounts.' From Part X. of S. G. Stein's copies of the Parma MSS. Hebrew Texts and Translation. I. Abrahams : ' Some Rabbinic Ideas on Prayer.' J. H. A. Hart : ' Philo of Alexandria,' IV. Translations from the treatises concerning Repentance, Nobility, Curses, Migration. A. Büchler : ' The New *Fragment of an Uncanonical Gospel.*' A defence of the accuracy of the details as to Purification. Reviews. C. G. Montefiore : ' Oesterley

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and Box '*Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*' (eleven pages: favourable). H. Loewe: 'G. F. Abbott *Israel in Europe*' (favourable).

The Expository Times (Vol. XIX. Nos. 4–6. January–March 1908. T. and T. Clark). D. Macfadyen: 'Social Theories and the Teaching of Jesus,' II. (*continued* February–March). C. T. P. Grierson: 'The Last Day.' A. H. Sayce: 'The Archaeology of Genesis, II. Gen. i. 4–12.' T. Barns: 'The Psalms of Vengeance.' 'F. C. Kempson *The Future Life*.' 'Gore *The New Theology and the Old Religion*.' 'Kennett *In Our Tongues*.' 'King and Hall *Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of Recent Discoveries*.' J. Stalker: 'H. Bois *Le Réveil au Pays de Galles*' and '*Quelques Réflexions sur la Psychologie des Réveils*.' H. R. Mackintosh: 'Faut *Die Christologie seit Schleiermacher*' (favourable). J. S. Banks: 'Steinmann *Die geistige Offenbarung Gottes in der geschichtlichen Person Jesu*' (Ritschlian). 'Oesterley and Box *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*.' 'A. R. Gordon *The Early Traditions of Genesis*.' 'J. H. F. Peile *The Reproach of the Gospel*.' 'Garvie *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus*.' 'J. C. Carrick *The Abbey of St. Mary, Newbottle*.' 'J. W. Shepard *Light and Life*.' 'K. Lake *Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*.' M. C. Wilson: 'Did Christ Preach from a Text?' A. C. Robinson: 'Lord of Hosts.' (A problem for critics: a reply by 'X.' February.) E. Nestle: 'A new Testimony for Codex Bezae.' R. F. Bevan: 'Job ii. 9.' February. A. Grieve: 'Sören Kierkegaard—A Study of the Third Section of his *Stadia upon Life's Way*.' 'Grenfell and Hunt *Fragment of an Uncanonical Gospel*.' 'Euting's Strasburg Papyri.' 'Frazer *Adonis Attis and Osiris*.' 'Sanday *Life of Christ in Recent Research*.' 'R. Winterbotham *Sermons*.' H. A. A. Kennedy: 'Riggenbach *Die ältesten lateinischen Kommentare zum Hebräerbriefe*' (favourable). J. Taylor: 'Legendre-Chevalier *Le Catholicisme et la Société*'; 'Buonaiuti *Lo Gnosticismo*'; 'Gemelli *Fatti e Dottrine*' (an attack on Lombroso). J. Iverach: 'Jülicher *Paulus u. Jesus*'; 'A. Meyer *Wer hat des Christenthum begrundet, Jesus oder Paulus?*'; 'Bousset-Wrede-Kaftan *Jesus u. Paulus*.' H. B. Swete: 'Chadwick *The Pastoral Teaching of St. Paul*' (favourable). 'Ramsay *Cities of St. Paul*.' 'Masson *Lucretius, Epicurean and Poet*' (very favourable). 'D. Macmillan *Life of George Matheson*.' 'H. C. Foxcroft *Life of Bishop Burnet*.' 'Scott Lidgett *Christian Religion, its Meaning and Proof*.' A. S. Lewis: 'Matt. ii. 2.' E. Nestle: 'Matt. vii. 25, 27.' March. W. C. Allen: 'Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.' S. Langdon: 'Babylonian Literary Redaction.' Interesting. A. H. Sayce: (1) 'The Archaeology of the Book of Genesis' (*continued* Gen. i. 14–30); (2) 'Was Tidal, King of Nations, a Hittite?' J. W. Youngson: 'The Discovery of the Gospel of Barnabas.' A. Bonus: 'Job ii. 9.' E. Nestle: (1) 'The Best Robe.' Query = 'The Former Robe.' (2) 'Matt. vi. 24 = Lc. xvi. 13.' 'Drummond *Studies in Christian Doctrine*.' 'W. Allen Whitworth *Christian Thought on Present-day Questions*.' J. Moffatt: 'Wellhausen and Harnack on *Acts*.' W. J. Moulton: 'Sellin *Die alttestamentliche Religion im Rahmen der andern altorientalischen*.' A. M. Macdonald: 'J. Adams *Sermons in Syntax*' (favourable). 'Lord Acton *History of Freedom and Other Essays*' and '*Historical Essays and Studies*.' 'J. Willcock *Life and Times of Archibald, Earl of Argyll* (1629–85).'

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'H. v. Schubert *Outlines of Church History.*' 'Barnardo-Marchant *Memoirs of Dr. Barnardo.*'

The Interpreter (Vol. IV. No. 2. January 1908. Simpkin, Marshall). Bishop of Winchester: 'The Wisdom Literature of the Bible.' H. B. Swete: 'The Gospels in the Second Century.' C. F. Burney: 'Rise of a Belief in a Future Life in Israel,' IV. W. J. Davies: 'Was Jesus a Disciple of John the Baptist?' T. W. Crafer: 'The Connexion between St. Jude and the *Magnificat.*' H. D. A. Major: 'Signs of the Times' (Matt. xvi. 3). Dom B. Weld: 'The Bridge of Asia' (Palestine). Reviews. 'P. Gardner *Exploratio Evangelica*, 2nd edit.' 'Sanday *Life of Christ in Recent Research.*' 'C. J. Abbey *The Divine Love.*'

The Churchman (N.S. Vol. XXII. Nos. 25–7. January–March 1908. Elliot Stock). Bishop of Durham: 'Messages from the Epistle to the Hebrews' (*continued* February–March). H. M. Wiener: 'Some Results of Modern Criticism of the Old Testament,' I. (II. Feb.). G. J. Cowley Brown: 'Keble and *The Christian Year.*' J. E. Watts-Ditchfield: 'The Church and the Labour Movement.' Church Congress Paper, October 1907. J. Reid: 'To each according to his several Ability' (Matt. xxv. 14–30). T. C. Bridges: 'The Largest Parish in England.' Lydford, Devon. Reviews. 'Peile *The Reproach of the Gospel.*' 'Orr *Virgin Birth of Christ.*' 'T. W. Drury *Elevation in the Eucharist.*' 'W. S. Caldecott *Solomon's Temple: its History and Structure.*' February. W. Hooper 'The Personality of God.' W. E. Chadwick: 'The Clergy and Social Reform.' J. Callis: 'John Newton.' 'W. St. C. Tisdall: 'Hebrew Aramaic Notes and Queries.' Tiphtaye (Dan. iii. 2–3), Tirshatha (Ezra ii. 63 etc.), naddabar (Dan. iii. 24), adargazar (Dan. iii. 2), nebizbah (Dan. ii. 6). Reviews. 'Sanday *Life of Christ in Recent Research*' (critical). 'Lindsay *The Reformation*, I.–II.' M. E. Sadler: '*Continuation Schools in England and elsewhere.*' March. 'A Missionary Bishop'; 'The Cradle of the Anglican Communion.' P. J. Heawood: 'A Layman's Thought on Old Testament Criticism.' Criticizes Prof. G. Adam Smith's *Lectures on Modern Criticism.* T. S. Treanor: 'Fasting.' F. W. M. Woodward: 'The Transfiguration.' A. E. N. Simms: 'The Inspiration of the Church.' Reviews. 'Illingworth *Doctrine of the Trinity.*' 'Mackinlay *The Magi: How they recognised Christ's Star.*'

The Catholic World (Vol. LXXXVI. Nos. 514–16. January–March 1908. New York). E. A. Gilligan: 'A Crusade of the Catechism.' "A Majority or at least a very large proportion of our Catholic children depend chiefly upon the Sunday school for their knowledge of religious truth." J. Dunn: 'A Legendary Life of St. Patrick.' In Breton. Fr. Cuthbert: 'Francis Thompson.' (With another article by T. J. Gerrard and an editorial note, February.) C. Clifford (and others): 'The Obediences of Catholicism.'—'The Encyclical on Modernism: I. The Rights of the Supreme Pontiff. II. The Errors Condemned' (February: 'Mr. C. Johnston on *Modernism.*' 'The Causes of Modernism.') Reviews. 'J. J. Walsh *The Thirteenth, greatest of Centuries.*' 'V. McNabb *The Decrees of the Vatican Council.*' 'M. J. O'Donnell *Penance in the Early Church.*' 'C. F. Kent *Israel's Historical and Biographical Narratives*' (favourable). 'A. Gardeil *La Crédibilité et l'Apologétique.*' February. J. A. Ryan: 'The Cost of Christian Living.' The Dangers of Riches.

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C. Clifford: 'The Priest in Caricature and Idea.' Reviews. 'Salembier *The Great Schism of the West*' [E.T.]. 'L. Choupin *Valeurs des Décisions Doctrinales et Disciplinaires du Saint-Siège.*' March. W. H. Kent: 'Liberalism and Faith: some Thoughts on the Crisis in Modern Theology.' J. J. Walsh: 'Lord Kelvin.' M. Hogan: 'Lord Bacon's Charges against Scholastic Philosophy.' Reviews. 'T. Hughes *History of the Society of Jesus in N. America*, I. to 1645.' 'J. Orr *Virgin Birth of Christ*' ('a book by a Protestant divine which the Master of the Sacred Palace himself might approve'). 'A. Tanquerey *Synopsis Theologiae moralis et pastoralis.*' (used in fifty-one out of eighty-four French seminaries). 'L. Duchesne *The Churches separated from Rome*' [E.T.]. 'A. Fortescue *The Orthodox Eastern Church.*' 'Wilbois *L'Avenir de l'Église Russe.*'

The Quarterly Review (No. 414. January 1908. Murray). 'Nineteenth Century Spain.' T. S. Moore: 'William Blake.' H. W. C. Davis: 'The English Borough.' J. Churton Collins: 'Dr. Johnson's *Lives of the Poets.*' Sir C. Eliot: 'The Religions of the Far East. II. Japan.' R. W. Bond: 'Ariosto.' 'The Poetry of Mr. Alfred Austin.' 'The Eight Hours' Day in Coal Mines.' 'The Right to Work.' J. Westlake: 'The Hague Conference.' R. C. Bosanquet: 'Greek Temples and Early Religion.' Sir M. Conway: 'The Jubilee of the Alpine Club.'

The Edinburgh Review (No. 423. January 1908. Longmans). 'The Government of Subject Races.' 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.' 'The Origin and Prospects of Gothic Architecture.' 'Bishop Gore and the Church of England.' 'The Fallacies of Socialism.' 'Versailles.' 'Heinrich Heine: Emotion and Irony.' 'Religion in Literature.' From Aeschylus to Fogazzaro. 'The Agricultural Position of the United Kingdom.' 'The Second Hague Conference.' 'Queen Victoria and her Ministers.'

The Contemporary Review (Nos. 505–7. January–March 1908. Horace Marshall). B. Aitken: 'The Coming Famine in India.' Jack London: 'Revolution.' A. P. Haigh: 'The Religions of Greece and Rome.' E. D. Morel: 'Belgium and the Congo.' (February. G. Lorand: 'Belgian Opinion on the Congo Question.') J. Churton Collins: 'Poetry and Symbolism: a Study of *The Tempest.*' W. R. Lawson: 'Oxford Finance: a Rejoinder.' To Dr. A. J. Butler. 'Museus': 'Christ in English Literature.' 'Illingworth *The Doctrine of the Trinity*' ('remarkable and inspiring'). 'J. Orr *The Virgin Birth of Christ.*' 'E. M. Bunting (and others) *A School for Mothers*' (important). 'Lord Acton's *Essays and Studies.*' 'E. Gosse *Father and Son.*' 'R. G. Moulton *The Modern Reader's Bible.*' 'J. Watson *The Philosophic Basis of Religion.*' 'W. Scott Palmer *The Church and Modern Men.*' February. Bishop of Southwark: 'The Education Question.' Sir G. White: 'The Coming Education Bill.' E. Sellers: 'Old-Age Pensions and the Belongingless Poor.' P. T. Forsyth: 'The Love of Liberty and the Love of Truth.' (The late) Sir Spencer Walpole: 'The Growth of the World.' F. W. Fox, A. Macalister and Sir A. R. Simpson: 'Christian Missions in China—a Report.' A. M. Fairbairn: 'Mr. Scott Lidgett on *The Christian Religion*: a Review.' 'E. Caird *Lay Sermons.*' 'R. M. Barrett *Ellice Hopkins.*' '*The Annotated Edition of Tennyson*,' I. II. (Eversley Series). 'E. Walker *History of English Music.*' 'D. Macmillan *Life of George Matheson.*'

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'*William Allingham: a Diary.*' 'Howarth and Wilson *Study in Social and Industrial Problems*' (invaluable). March. Fr. Petroff: 'My Profession of Faith.' P. Sabatier: 'Modernism.' J. R. Macdonald: 'Arbitration Courts and Wages Boards in Australia.' E. Wright: 'The Charm of French Verse.' Too short. 'Museus': 'Poetry and Modern Thought.' 'L. P. Smith *Sir Henry Wotton.*' 'S. Cheetham *History of the Christian Church since the Reformation*' (favourable). 'F. Harrison *The Philosophy of Common Sense.*' 'O. Elton *Modern Studies.*' 'G. C. Henderson *Sir George Grey.*' 'Salembier *The Great Schism of the West*' ('not a work of any substantial historical merit').

The Albany Review (Vol. II. Nos. 10–12. January–March 1908. John Lane). R. Y. Tyrrell: 'Sir Richard Jebb.' Hon. B. Russell: 'Trans-Atlantic "Truth."' Prof. W. James' *Pragmatism.* A. J. Penty: 'The Fallacies of Collectivism.' A. E. T. Newman: 'Small Holdings: an Object Lesson.' In Bucks by the present Bishop of Truro thirty years ago. B. K. Gray: 'Prof. Abbe's New Theory of Industry.' J. Harrison: 'G. G. A. Murray *The Greek Epic.*' February. C. D. Burns: 'Modernism. II. The Arguments.' A. C. Bradley: 'Shelley's View of Poetry.' C. F. G. Masterman: 'Causes and Cures of Poverty.' O. Browning: 'Personal Recollection of Seeley and Acton.' N. R. Campbell: 'The Electron Theory of Matter.' J. Clayton: 'Tramps, Vagrants and Beggars.' J. L. Hammond: 'A. M. W. Stirling *Coke of Norfolk and His Friends.*' D. MacCarthy: 'A. Symons *Cities of Italy.*' 'A Poor Law Worker': 'Pauper Nursing.' March. F. C. S. Schiller: 'The Tribulations of Truth.' F. S. Sussex: 'Life in a Factory: a Personal Experience.' E. Givskov: 'Taxation of Land Values.' D. MacCarthy: 'The Letters of Edward Lear.' D. Dewar: 'The Limitations of Natural Selection.'

The English Historical Review (Vol. XXIII. No. 89. January 1908. Longmans). J. F. Baldwin: 'The King's Council from Edward I. to Edward III.' S. Kramer: 'The Amalgamation of the English Mercantile Crafts.' J. F. Chance: 'The Northern Pacification of 1719–20,' III. A. W. Ward: 'Queen Victoria's Letters, 1837–1861.' R. L. Poole: 'The Dates of Henry II.'s Charters.' Interesting. R. C. Fowler: 'Cistercian Scholars at Oxford.' C. L. Scofield: 'A voluntary Subsidy levied by Edward IV. in the Province of Canterbury, 1462.' H. A. Wilson: 'The Coronation of Q. Elizabeth.' G. B. Tatham: 'The Sale of Episcopal Lands during the Civil Wars and Commonwealth.' Reviews. F. Ll. Griffith: 'Breasted *Ancient Records of Egypt*, II.–V.' H. Stuart Jones: 'Jordan-Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum.*' E. W. Watson: 'C. H. Turner *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Juris Antiquissima*, II.'; 'P. Thomas *Le Droit de Propriété des Laïques sur les Églises et le Patronage laïque au Moyen Age.*' E. W. Brooks: 'Martroye *Genseric.*' E. J. Rapson: 'Ettinghausen *Harṣa-Vardhana, Empereur et Poète de l'Inde Septentrionale* (606–48 A.D.).' J. P. Whitney: 'Mackinnon *History of Modern Liberty*, I.–II.'; 'P. S. Allen *Erasmi Opus Epistolarum*, I., 1484–1514.' H. W. C. Davis: 'Soehnée *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri Ier, Roi de France.*' J. Tait: 'Ballard *The Domesday Inquest.*' E. Barker: 'Luchaire *Innocent III.: La Question d'Orient.*' T. F. Tout: 'J. W. Clark *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*' ('Important and amusing'); 'Bémont *Rôles gascons*, III.' G. Unwin: 'M. D. Harris

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The Coventry Leet Book, I.' A. Tilley: 'Delaruelle *Guillaume Budé*.' J. N. Figgis: 'Denifle *Luther u. Lutherthum*, I. 2,' and 'A. M. Weiss *Luther-Psychologie als Schlüssel zur Luther-Legende*.' E. Armstrong: 'W. Bauer *Die Anfänge Ferdinands I*.' H. A. L. Fisher: 'Bourrilly et de Vaissière *Ambassades en Angleterre de J. du Bellay*, I.' (important). A. F. Pollard: 'A. J. Butler *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series*, 1581–2.' C. H. Firth: 'P. A. Bruce *Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*.' R. Dunlop: 'Mahaffy *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, 1660–2, 1663–5.' I. S. Leadam: 'A. v. Ruville *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*' (5½ pages). H. E. Egerton: 'Shortt and Doughty *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada*, 1756–61'; 'G. O. Trevelyan *The American Revolution*, III.' P. F. Willert: '*Memoirs of the Comtesse de Boigne*.' W. Miller: '*The Cambridge Modern History*, X.' M. R. James: 'Floyer and Hamilton *Catalogue of MSS. in the Library of Worcester Cathedral*.' A. Souter: 'L. Traube *Nomina sacra: Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung*.' R. L. P[oole]: 'Schiaparelli *I Diplomi di Guido et di Lamberto*.' G. Le S[trange]: 'Adler *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*.' E. J. R[apson]: 'Kennedy *History of the Great Moghuls*, 1398–1739.' I. 'Eitel *Der Kirchenstaat unter Klemens V*.'

The Classical Quarterly (Vol. II. No. 1. January 1908. Nutt). A. S. L. Farquharson: 'On the Names of Aelius Caesar, adopted Son of Hadrian.' T. W. Allen: 'The Epic Cycle,' I.

The Classical Review (Vol. XXII. Nos. 1–2. February–March 1908. Nutt). E. R. Barker: 'Past Excavations at Herculaneum.' Reprinted from *Burlington Magazine*. 'Bibliography of the most important Authorities on Herculaneum.' J. E. Harrison: 'Helios-Hades.' J. E. Morris: 'Blanchet *Les Enceintes romaines de la Gaule*.' J. B. Bury: 'Preger *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, II.' F. G. Walker: (1) 'Graves near "War-Ditches," Cherry-Hinton, Cambridge'; (2) 'Roman Tumulus at Lord's Bridge, Harlton, near Cambridge.' Illustrated. March. R. W. R.: 'Gods in the *Eclogues* and the Arcadian Club.' Interesting and ingenious. H. J. Edwards: 'W. T. Arnold on Roman History.' W. Rhys Roberts: 'L. van Hook *The Metaphorical Terminology of Greek Rhetoric and Literary Criticism*.' E. L. Hicks: 'Ramsay *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*.' E. Lyttelton: 'J. W. Adamson *The Practice of Instruction*.'

Revue Biblique Internationale (Vol. V. No. 1. January 1908. Paris: Lecoffre). A. Durand: 'Les frères du Seigneur.' M. J. Lagrange: (1) 'Le règne de Dieu dans l'Ancien Testament'; (2) 'La revision de la Vulgate.' P. Dhorme: 'L'Élégie de David sur Saül et Jonathan.' D. de Bruyne: 'Une concordance biblique d'origine pélagienne.' Important. M. Lepin: 'A propos de l'origine du IV^e^ évangile.' H. Vincent: (1) 'Les fouilles anglaises à Gézer'; (2) 'Les fouilles autrichiennes à Jéricho'; (3) 'Une mosaïque chrétienne au Mont des Oliviers' (illustrated); (4) 'Bustes funéraires palestiniens' (illustrated). Recensions. P. Dhorme: 'Jeremias *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*'; 'H. Pognon *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul*.' A. Condamin: 'Kent *The Student's Old Testament* I.–IV.' 'Swete *The Apocalypse*' (very favourable). 'A. d'Alès *La théologie de S. Hippolyte*.' 'Baentsch *Altorientalischer und israelitischer*

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Monotheismus.' 'W. Möller *Die messianische Erwartung der vorexilischen Propheten.*' 'H. Müller *Komposition u. Strophenbau.*' 'E. Sievers *Metrische Studien*, III. *Samuel.*' 'Bludau *Juden u. Judenverfolgungen im alten Alexandria.*'

Revue Bénédictine (Vol. XXV. No. 1. January 1908. Maredsous). G. Morin: (1) 'Les *Dicta* d'Heriger sur l'Eucharistie'; (2) 'Le Commentaire inédit sur les LXX premiers Psaumes du MS. 18 d'Einsiedeln.' U. Berlière: (1) 'Épaves d'archives pontificales du XIV^e^ siècle' (illustrated); (2) 'Les coutumiers monastiques des VIII^e^ et IX^e^ siècles'; (3) 'Deux lettres de D. A. Legrand, bénédictin de St-Maur (1642–1723).' From MS. Paris. Bibl. Nat. lat. 11645. R. Ancel: 'Le Vatican sous Paul IV.' P. de Meester: 'Étude sur la théologie orthodoxe, IV. Le monde matériel.' D. de Bruyne: 'La *Regula consensoria.* Une règle des moines priscillianistes.' F. Wolpert: 'Un type peu connu de la croix de S. Benoît—une énigme numismatique résolue.' Comptes rendus. H. Quentin: 'Toutain *Les Cultes païens dans l'Empire romain*'; 'Cumont *Les Religions orientales dans le Paganisme romain*'; 'Farnell *Cults of the Greek States*, III.–IV.' (laudatory). P. de Meester: 'Braun *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident u. Orient.*' G. M[orin]: 'Beissel *Entstehung der Perikopen des Römischen Messbuches.*' F. Cabrol: 'Eeles *Pontifical Services*, III'; 'E. Beresford-Cooke *The Sign of the Cross in the Western Liturgies.*' B. Lebbe: 'Leclercq *Manuel d'archéologie chrétienne*'; 'Diekamp *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi*'; 'Hefele-Leclercq *Histoire des Conciles*, I.'; 'De Genouillac *L'Église chrétienne au temps de S. Ignace d'Antioche*'; 'L. Ducheane *Histoire ancienne de l'Église*, II.' U. B[erlière]: 'Heimbucher *Die Orden u. Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche*, I.–II.'; 'Guiraud *Cartulaire de Notre Dame de Prouille*' (with a study of the Albigenses in Languedoc, saec. XII.–XIII.); 'Guggenberger *Die Legation des Kardinals Pileus in Deutschland*, 1378–82'; 'Theissen *Centraal Gezag en Friesche Vrijheid*'; 'Pastor *Geschichte der Päpste*, IV. 1513–34.' B. Defrenne: 'Braunsberger *B. Petri Canisii S. I. epistulae et acta*, IV. (1563–5).' P. B[astien]: 'Choupin *Valeur des décisions doctrinales et disciplinaires du Saint-Siège.*' R. Thibaut: 'P. de Meeste *Voyage de deux bénédictins aux monastères du Mont-Athos*' (illustrated).

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien (N.S. Vol. II. No. 4. 1907. Paris). S. Vailhé: 'S. Euthyme le Grand, moine de Palestine (376–479).' II. F. Tournebize: 'Étude sur la conversion de l'Arménie au Christianisme (*suite*). Grégoire et Tiridate.' S. Grébaut: 'Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine [texte éthiopien et traduction du *Mystère du jugement des pécheurs*]' (*suite*). F. Nau: (1) 'Histoires des solitaires égyptiens' (*suite*: MS. Coislin 126); (2) 'Traduction de la chronique syriaque anonyme éditée par S. B. Mgr. Rahmani, patriarche des syriens catholiques'; (3) 'Note sur quelques MSS. latins de l'invention du corps de S. Étienne.' M. J. Lagrange: 'Le sanctuaire de la lapidation de S. Étienne à Jérusalem.' F. Nau: 'Baur *S. Jean Chrysostome et ses œuvres dans l'histoire littéraire*'; 'Pradel *Griechische u. suditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen u. Rezepte des Mittelalters*'; 'Achleitner *Jérusalem.*' A. Gastoué: 'Rebours *Traité de psaltique*' ('un excellent ouvrage'); 'Thibaut *Origine byzantine de la notation neumatique de l'Église latine.*'

Analecta Bollandiana (Tomus XXVII.) Fasc. I. January 1908.

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Brussels). A. Poncelet: 'La vie et les œuvres de Thierry de Fleury.' E. Kurtz: "Einige kritische Bemerkungen zur Vita des hl. Demetrianos.' Bishop of Chytroi in Cyprus († c. 912 A.D.). H. Delehaye: 'Le pèlerinage de Laurent de Pasztho au Purgatoire de S. Patrice.' Latin text in MS. Brit. Mus. Royal 10 B IX. F. Savio: 'Sur un épisode peu connu de la vie de S. Bassien de Lodi.' Contemporary of St. Ambrose. A. Poncelet: 'Catalogus codd. hagiograph. lat. bibliothec. Roman. praeter quam Vatic. X. Codices bibliothec. Vallicellanae.' H. Moretus: 'H. Quentin *Les Martyrologes historiques du moyen-âge*' ('ière époque dans la littérature martyrologique'). P. P[eeters]: 'Pereira *Acta Martyrum*, I.–II.' (Ethiopic); 'Beccari *Emmanuelis d'Almeida S. I. Historia Aethiopiae*'; 'Rabbath *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du christianisme en Orient*, XVI^e–XIX^e siècle.' A. P[oncelet]: 'Duchesne *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, I.' (2nd revised edit.); 'H. Stein *Bibliographie générale des cartulaires français ou relatifs à l'histoire de France*'; 'L. van der Essen *Étude critique et littéraire sur les Vitae de saints mérovingiens de l'ancienne Belgique*'; 'Pillion *Les portails latéraux de la Cathédrale de Rouen*' (69 plates); 'Julian *Dictionary of Hymnology*' (2nd edit.); 'H. G. Voigt *Bruno von Querfurt*.' H. D[elehaye]: 'Zeiller *Les origines chrétiennes de la province romaine de Dalmatie*'; 'J. Burns *The Christ Face in Art*'; 'Knopf *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter . . . bis zum Ende Hadrians*'; 'E. O. Gordon *S. George*' and 'Hanauer *Folk-lore of the Holy Land*' ('précieux recueil'); 'Seeck *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet*'; 'Baur *S. Jean Chrysostome*' (critical) and 'J. A. Nairn *Chrysostom de Sacerdotio* (laudatory); 'Lanzoni *S. Petronio, vescovo di Bologna*' (very favourable). [F.] V[an] O[rtroy]: 'Thurston *The Stations of the Cross*'; 'Zimmerman *Monumenta historica Carmelitana*, I.'; 'Guiraud *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Prouille*.' E. Hocedez: 'Hamon *Vie de la bienheureuse Marguerite-Marie*' (important for history of devotion of the Sacred Heart).

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique (Vol. IX. No. 1. January 1908. Louvain). E. Tobac: 'La "Justice de Dieu" dans S. Paul.' F. Cumont: 'Une inscription manichéenne de Salone.' L. Gougaud: 'L'œuvre des *Scotti* dans l'Europe continentale (VI^e–XI^e siècles).' I. A. Fierens: 'La question franciscaine. Le MS. II. 2326 de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique' (*suite*). T. Heitz: 'Les sources de deux lettres attribuées à S. Ignace de Loyola.' L. Willaert: 'Négociations politico-religieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas catholiques (1598–1625). Intervention des souverains anglais en faveur du protestantisme aux Pays-Bas' (*suite*). Comptes rendus. E. Remy: 'Cumont *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*' (7 pages). G. Buysschaert: 'H. J. Toxopeüs *Karakteren herkomst van den Jakobusbrief*' (Thesis: critical). J. Flamion: 'Brochet *S. Jérôme et ses ennemis*.' J. Lebon: 'P. Schwen *Afrahat. Seine Person et sein Verständnis des Christentums*.' H. de Jongh: 'Grisar *Histoire de Rome et des Papes au moyen-âge*, I.' (favourable). J. Warichez: 'Halphen *Le Comté d'Anjou au XI^e siècle*.' C. Enlart: 'R. Lemaire *Les origines du style gothique en Brabant*, I.' H. Nelis: 'Schiaparelli *I diplomi di Guido e di Lamberto*.' M. Legrand: 'Kretschmayr *Geschichte von Venedig*, I.'; 'Barge *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt*, I.' L. Guilloreau: 'J. W. Clark *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*' (very favour-

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able). L. van der Essen: 'Werminghoff *Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung Deutschlands im Mittelalter*,' I. (4 pages); 'Koeniger *Die Sendgerichte im Deutschland*, I.'; 'Gossart *Espagnols et Flamands au XVI^e siècle*' (5½ pages). C. Molhberg: 'Plenkers *Untersuchungen zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsregeln*, I.–II.' (favourable). S. Demeuldre: 'Génestal *Histoire de la légitimation des enfants naturels en droit canonique*'; 'Valois *Histoire de la Pragmatique Sanction de Bourges sous Charles VII*'; 'Baunard *E. Lelièvre et les fondations des Petites Sœurs des Pauvres*' (1826–89). M. Jacquin: 'Ostler *Die Psychologie des Hugo von St. Viktor*.' G. Mollat: 'Coulon *Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Jean XXII* (1316–34) *relatives à la France*.' P. Richard: 'Pastor *Geschichte der Päpste*. IV. 1513–34' (7 pages). R. de Smedt: 'Freisen *Staat u. Katholische Kirche in Lippe u. Waldeck-Pyrmont*.' R. de Sainte-Croix: 'M. Masson *Fénelon et Mme. Guyon: Documents nouveaux et inédits*.' C. Terlinden: 'Poullet *Les Institutions françaises de 1795 à 1814*' (9½ pages). L. Gougaud: 'Staley *The Liturgical Year*' and '*Liturgical Studies*'; 'Cox *English Church Furniture*'; 'S. H. Gem *Hidden Saints, a Study of the Brothers of the Common Life*.'

Revue des Questions Historiques (No. 165. January 1908. Paris). J. de Guibert: 'La date du martyre des saints Carpos, Papylos et Agathonicé.' Under Decius, not M. Aurelius. P. Allard: 'La jeunesse de Sidoine Apollinaire.' E. Rodocanachi: 'Le château Saint-Ange pendant l'occupation de Rome par les armées de Charles-Quint 1526–7).' J. de Servière: 'Les idées politiques du cardinal Bellarmin' (*fin*). E. Vacandard: 'Le Symbole des Apôtres.' (A 13½-page review of Dr. A. E. Burn's *The Apostles' Creed* 'un petit chef-d'œuvre.') H. Quentin: 'Une explication fantaisiste des origines de la Toussaint.' Reviews 'Saintyves *Les Saints successeurs des Dieux*.' P. le Verdier: 'Le *Livre de Raison* de Jacques Susenne (1614–1737).' A. Roussel: 'Lamennais d'après ses correspondants inconnus.' 'Lavisse *Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la Révolution*,' I. 1, V., VI. P. Allard: 'Bonet-Maurey *France, christianisme et civilisation*'; 'H. de Genouillac *L'Église chrétienne au temps de S. Ignace d'Antioche*' (very favourable); 'Rivière *S. Justin et les apologistes du second siècle*' et '*La propagation du Christianisme dans les trois premiers siècles*'; 'Buonaiuti *Lo Gnosticismo*'; 'Cabrol *Les origines liturgiques*'; 'G. Kurth *Le lèpre en Occident avant les croisades*'; 'J. Luchaire *Essai sur l'Évolution intellectuelle de l'Italie de 1815 à 1830*.' L. Coquelin: 'Brunetière *Etudes critiques sur l'histoire de la littérature française*'; 'H. Leclercq *Manuel d'Archéologie chrétienne*' ('un ouvrage des plus importants.' Two vols. 589 and 681 pp.) et '*Les Martyrs*, VII.' 'J. de la Martinière *S. Cybard*.' M. Besnier: 'G. de Sanctis *Storia dei Romani*, I.–II.'; 'Regnier *S. Martin*' (unfavourable). E. Jordan: 'Valois *Jean de Jandun et Marsile de Padoue, auteurs du Defensor Pacis*.' J. Guiraud: 'Mineur *Les anciens couvents de Draguignan*. I. *Les Cordeliers*'; 'Poupardin *Les Institutions politiques et administratives des principautés lombardes de l'Italie méridionale* (IX^e-XI^e siècles).' H. Cochin: 'Dejob *La foi religieuse en Italie au XIV^e siècle*.' L. Robert: 'C. Faure *Histoire de la réunion de Vienne à la France, 1328–1454*.' M. S[epet]: 'G. Sortais *Fra Angelico et Benozzo Gozzoli*' (very favourable). R. Lambelin: 'G. M.

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Trevelyan *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic.*' 'A. Biovès *Gordon-Pacha*' (favourable).

Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique (No. 10. December 1907. Paris: Lecoffre). P. Batiffol: 'Les Martyrologes historiques du moyen âge.' L. Saltet: 'Les lettres du pape Libère de 357.' 'H. Vincent *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente.*' 'Genouillac *L'Église chrétienne au temps de S. Ignace d'Antioche.*'

Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses (Vol. XII. Nos. 5–6. September-December 1907. Paris: Picard). L. de la V. Poussin: '*Introduction à la pratique des futurs Bouddhas*, par Çantideva, cc. VII.–IX., traduit du sanscrit et annoté.' A. Loisy: 'La transfiguration.' G. Herzog: 'La sainte Vierge dans l'histoire' (125 pages). A. Dufourcy: 'Les *Gesta Martyrum.*' A. Loisy: 'Resch *Agrapha*, 2nd edit.'; 'H. Schmidt *Jona*'; 'Harnack *Sprüche u. Reden Jesu*'; 'Burkitt *The Gospel History and its Transmission*'; 'J. A. Montgomery *The Samaritans*' (laudatory); 'Guignebert *Manuel d'Histoire ancienne du Christianisme*, I.' M. de Wulf: 'Picavet *Esquisse d'une histoire générale et comparée des philosophies médiévales*'; 'Brunhes *La foi chrétienne et la philosophie au temps de la renaissance carolingienne*'; 'M. Kurth *Notger de Liège et la civilisation au X^e siècle.*' 'A nos lecteurs.' "La Revue suspend pour quelque temps sa publication."

Revue Catholique des Églises (Vol. V. No. 1. January 1908. Paris, 83 rue des Saints-Pères). L. Venard: 'Les Études Bibliques en France depuis 15 ans.' J. Zeiller: 'Chez les Slaves de l'Illyrie—conflit liturgique et religieux.' J. Chevalier: 'Réforme et séparation—une vue luthérienne sur le sujet.' Reviews 'E. Troeltsch *Die Trennung von Staat u. Kirche, der staatliche Religionsunterricht u. die theologischen Fakultaten.*' 'Deux points de vue sur l'Église russe.' ('Mérejkowski *Le Tsar et la Révolution*' and 'Wilbois *L'Avenir de l'Église russe.*') 'Le concile russe et l'Union des Églises.'

Theologisch Tijdschrift (Vol. XLII. 2. March 1908. Leiden: Doesburgh). H. Oort: 'Het standpunt der *Modernisten* in de Roomsch-Katholieke Kerk.' Reviews Mr. A. L. Lilley's book. F. Pijper: 'De belijdenisschriften der Luthersche en Anglikaansche Kerken' (*wordt vervolgd*). J. de Zwaan: 'Beza's advies omtrent Codex D.' Reviews. F. Pijper: 'K. Brauer *Die Unionstätigkeit John Duries unter dem Protektorat Cromwells.*' 'Pijper *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, IV.' 'J. Ridderbos *De theologie van Jonathan Edwards.*' 'A. Görland *Der Gottesbegriff bei Leibniz.*' H. Y. Groenewegen: 'I. Van Dijk *Het Wezen des Christendoms*' (6½ pages).

Teologisk Tidsskrift (Vol. IX. Nos. 2–3. 1908. Copenhagen). V. Lindegaard-Petersen: 'Symbolforpligtelsen i den danske kirke,' II. C. Glarbo: 'Nyere engelsk Teologi,' II. J. O. Andersen: 'V. L.-Petersen *Den protestantiske Kirke i Frankrig*, 1802–52.' V. L.-Petersen: 'R. Hoffmann *Kierkegaard et la certitude religieuse.*' K. Kayser: 'Pontoppidan *Efterfölgelsen.*' No. 3. L. Bostrup: 'Vor lutherske Kirkes Nadveropfattelse.' H. Nyholm: 'Om vor Oppattelse af det Virkelige. F. Toun: 'Spitta *Streitfragen der geschichte Jesu* og *Der Versuchung Jesu.* V. L.-Petersen: 'Kaspar *La révolution religieuse d'après Edgar Quinet.*' K. Kayser: 'Opbyggelsesliteratur.'

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The Church Missionary Review (Nos. 705–7. January–March 1908. C.M.S.) 'Message from the China Centenary Conference to the Home Churches' (*continued* February–March). 'The Diocese of Moosonee: Bishop Holmes' Report.' G. F. Smith: 'Aglionby *Edward Henry Bickersteth*' (9 pages). W. H. T. Gairdner: 'Ragg *The Gospel of Barnabas*.' February. R. F. McNeile: 'The Church and Human Society.' A. G. Fraser and T. H. Crossette: 'Problems and Opportunities before Educational Missions in India and Ceylon.' March. G. T. Manley: 'The Church and Modern Thought.' J. E. Chadwick: 'Bantu Women of Equatorial Africa.' E. H. M. Waller: 'Non-Christians of the United Provinces—their Present Attitude.' Bishop (J.) Johnson: 'The Niger Delta Pastorate.' '*The Churchman's Missionary Atlas*' (S.P.G.) and Walpole-Barton *Handy Atlas to Church and Empire*.' 'D. Macdonald *Oceanic Languages*.'

The East and the West (Vol. VI. No. 21. January 1908. S.P.G.) Bishop of Southampton: 'The Unrest in India and some of its Causes.' Lord W. Gascoyne-Cecil: 'Impressions of the Shanghai Conference.' A. G. Fraser: 'Education in India and Ceylon in view of the National Movement.' Archdeacon A. F. Sharp: 'Work amongst the Sea Dyaks of Saráwak, Borneo.' G. Congreve, S.S.J.E.: 'The Attitude of the Church towards the Child-races of the World.' Archdeacon H. B. Hyde: 'South Indian Missions—the Present Opportunity.' G. T. Manley: 'Co-operation in Missionary Study.' W. J. Richards: 'The Syrians of Malabar: Some of their Strong and Weak Points.' '*Mankind and the Church* (by Seven Bishops).' 'B. Lucas *The Empire of Christ*.' 'G. H. Westcott, *Kabir and the Kabir Panth*.' 'E. M. Wherry *Islam and Christianity in the Far East*.' 'R. A. Nicholson *Literary History of the Arabs*.' 'Peile *The Reproach of the Gospels*.'

Books Received.

The more important will be reviewed in short notices or articles as space permits.

Biblical and Kindred Studies.

Abbott, E. A.—*Indices to Diatessarica*. With a Specimen of Research. Pp. lxiv + 152. (A. & C. Black.) 2*s*. 6*d*. net.

Adams, J.—*Sermons in Syntax or Studies in the Hebrew Text*. A Book for Preachers and Students. Pp. xxii + 228. (T. & T. Clark.) 4*s*. 6*d*. net.

Barnes, W. Emery.—*The Two Books of the Kings*. In the Revised Version, with Introduction and Notes. 'Cambridge Bible.' Pp. xlvi + 340. (Cambridge University Press.) 3*s*. 6*d*. net.

Brodrick, M.—*The Trial and Crucifixion of Jesus Christ of Nazareth*. Pp. xii + 196. (Murray.) 3*s*. 6*d*. net.

Charles, R. H.—*The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Edited from nine MSS. Together with the variants of the Armenian and Slavonic versions and some Hebrew fragments. Pp. lx + 324. (Clarendon Press.) 18*s*. net.

Deissmann, A.—*The Philology of the Greek Bible: its Present and*

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Future. Translated from the Author's MS. by L. R. M. STRACHAN. Pp. xii + 148. (Hodder & Stoughton.) 3*s.* net.

DURAND, P. A. (S.J.).—*L'Enfance de Jésus-Christ d'après les Évangiles canoniques, suivie d'une étude sur les Frères du Seigneur.* Pp. xlii + 290. (Paris : Beauchesne). 2 *fr.* 50.

GILBERT, G. H.—*Interpretation of the Bible : a short History.* Pp. viii + 310. (The Macmillan Co.) 5*s.* net.

HAMER, C. J.—*Notes on St. Mark.* Pp. 102. (London : Allman & Son.) With questions from Oxford Local Examination Papers.

HARNACK, A.—*New Testament Studies.* II. *The Sayings of Jesus the second Source of St. Matthew and St. Luke.* Translated by J. R. WILKINSON. 'Crown Theological Library.' Pp. xvi + 316. (Williams & Norgate.) 6*s.*

HASTINGS, J. (and others).—*A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.* Vol. II. Pp. xvi + 912. (T. & T. Clark.) 21*s.* net. See Short Notice.

KELLY, W. (the late).—*An Exposition of the Gospel of John.* Edited, with Additions, by E. E. WHITFIELD. Pp. x + 552. (Elliot Stock.) 7*s.* 6*d.*

LEIPOLDT, J.—*Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons.* Zweiter Teil. *Mittelalter und Neuzeit.* Pp. iv + 182. (Leipzig : Hinrichs.) 2 *M.* 40.

MACDERMOTT, G. M.—*The Gospel according to St. Mark.* 'Plain Commentaries.' Pp. 114. (Wells Gardner.) 6*d.*

MILLIGAN, G.—*St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians.* The Greek Text with Introduction and Notes. Pp. cxii + 196. (Macmillan.) 12*s.*

MORGAN, G. CAMPBELL.—*The Analysed Bible.* 'Genesis to Esther.' 'Job to Malachi.' 'Matthew to Revelation.' Three Volumes. Pp. xvi + 256, viii + 332, viii + 400. (Hodder & Stoughton.) 3*s.* 6*d.* each.

ROBINSON, Very REV. J. ARMITAGE (Dean of Westminster).—*The Historical Character of St. John's Gospel.* Pp. 80. (Longmans.) 6*d.* net.

TRENCH, MOST REV. R. C. (late Archbishop of Dublin).—*Notes on the Miracles of our Lord.* With an Introduction by A. SMYTHE PALMER. Pp. xx + 390. (Routledge). A well-edited reprint. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

WINSTANLEY, E. W.—*Spirit in the New Testament.* An Enquiry into the Use of the Word ΠΝΕΥΜΑ in all Passages, and a Survey of the Evidence concerning the Holy Spirit. Pp. viii + 166. (Cambridge University Press.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

DOGMATIC AND SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

GIBSON, RIGHT REV. E. C. S. (Bishop of Gloucester).—*The Three Creeds.* 'Oxford Library of Practical Theology.' Pp. viii + 284. (Longmans.) 5*s.*

GRAFTON, RIGHT REV. C. C. (Bishop of Fond du Lac).—*A Catholic Atlas or Digest of Catholic Theology.* Comprehending Fundamentals of Religion Summary of Catholic Doctrine, Means of Grace, Perfection with its Rules and Counsels, Worship and its Laws. Pp. xii + 244. (Longmans.) 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

HALL, F. J.—*Authority, Ecclesiastical and Biblical.* Pp. xvi + 300. (Longmans.) 6*s.* net.

JENKINS, W. O.—*The Incarnation in St. Paul's Theology, together with the Christian Hope of Immortality.* Pp. 80. (S.P.C.K.) 6*d.*

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NEWBOLT, W. C. E.—*The Sacrament of the Altar.* 'Oxford Library of Practical Theology.' Pp. xii + 298. (Longmans.) 5*s.*

METAPHYSICS AND PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

B., E. P.—*Transformed Hinduism : the Monotheistic Religion of Beauty.* Two Volumes. Pp. viii + 256, vi + 262. (London : P. Willby.) 5*s.* net.

DE TONQUÉDEC, J.—*La Notion de Vérité dans la 'Philosophie Nouvelle.'* Pp. vi + 152. (Paris : Beauchesne.) 1 *fr.* 50.

HALL, H. F.—*The Inward Light.* Pp. viii + 252. (Macmillan.) 10*s.* net.

LILLEY, A. L.—*Modernism : a Record and Review.* Pp. xviii + 278. (Pitman.) 6*s.* net.

O'DWYER, MOST REV. E. T. (Bishop of Limerick).—*Cardinal Newman and the Encyclical 'Pascendi Domini Gregis.'* An Essay. Pp. xii + 44. (Longmans.) 1*s.* net.

WILLIAMS, M. V.—*Six Essays on the Platonic Theory of Knowledge as expounded in the later dialogues and reviewed by Aristotle.* Pp. viii + 134. (Cambridge University Press.) 3*s.* net.

La Liberté intellectuelle après l'Encyclique 'Pascendi.' Lettre de Mgr. l'Evêque de Beauvais à un Député. Pp. 48. (Paris : Beauchesne.) 80 c.

APOLOGETICS.

BEVERIDGE, A. T. G.—*Holdfast, or Let Go : in Defence of Christianity.* Pp. x + 176. (Wells Gardner.) 1*s.* 3*d.* net. An appeal by a medical man to the working class.

COOPER, C. L.—*The Study of the Forty Days.* Pp. 32. (S.P.C.K.) 3*d.*

DEANE, A.—*The Society of Christ : its Nature and its Claims.* Pp. 90. (S.P.C.K.) 6*d.*

DRAWBRIDGE, C. L.—*Is Religion Undermined?* Pp. x + 238. (Longmans.) 1*s.* net. Cheap Reprint.

ROBINSON, C. H.—*Human Nature a Revelation of the Divine.* An Argument for Inspiration of the Old Testament ; being a sequel to *Studies in the Character of Christ.* Cheap Edition. Pp. xii + 108. (Longmans.) 6*d.* net.

STURGE, M. C.—*The Truth and Error of Christian Science.* Pp. xii + 186. (Murray.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

TURTON, LIEUT.-COL. W. H.—*The Resurrection of Christ.* Pp. 56. (S.P.C.K.) 6*d.*

VERNON, A. W.—*The Religious Value of the Old Testament.* With Introduction by A. S. PEAKE. Pp. 96. (London : G. T. Brown.) 2*s.* net.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

BARNES-LAWRENCE, A. E.—*Confirmation.* A Series of Notes on the Church Catechism. New and revised edition. Pp. 56. (London : R. Scott.) 1*s.* net.

BOYER, P. J.—*Critical and Historical Notes on Passages selected for the Sunday and Holy-Day Lessons from the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua.* Two Maps. Pp. xii + 464. (Parker.) 4*s.* net. For clergy and teachers.

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mation, or the Laying on of Hands. Pp. 40. (Mowbray.) 2*d.* With Blackboard Outlines.

LINKLATER, R.—*The Making of the Body of Christ.* Pp. 126. (Skeffingtons.) 2*s.*

OWEN, D.—*Letters to School-girls.* Pp. 158. (Skeffingtons.) 2*s.* net.

PIGOU, VERY REV. F. (Dean of Bristol.)—*The Acts of the Holy Ghost.* Thirty-two Years' Experience of conducting Parochial Missions. Pp. xii + 330. (Hodder & Stoughton.) 6*s.*

ROMANES, E.—*Bible Readings with Comments.* Pp. xii + 240. (Mowbray.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net. For children.

SHARPE, A. R.—*Confirmation—and Afterwards. Faith, Belief, and Conduct. Holy Communion.* 'Heyford Papers.' Three Booklets. Pp. 62, 64, 52. (Mowbray.) 3*d.* each.

DEVOTIONAL THEOLOGY.

ABBOT-SMITH, E.—*'The Glory of the King.'* Short Meditations for Easter. Pp. 64. (Mowbray.) 3*d.*

BRETT, J.—*Incarnate Love.* Meditations on the Love of Jesus. Pp. viii + 106. (Longmans.) 2*s.* net.

BRITTON, R. W.—*Angels: their Nature and Service.* Pp. viii + 54. (Mowbray.) 1*s.* net.

BULLOCK, G. F.—*The Hymn of Praise of the Incarnation.* Considerations on the *Magnificat.* With Preface by G. S. HOLLINGS, S.S.J.E. Pp. viii + 92. (Mowbray.) 1*s.* 6*d.* net.

——— (the late).—*The Prodigal Son.* Pp. iv + 68. (Wantage: at the Convent of S. Mary. London and Oxford: Mowbray.) 1*s.* net.

ELSDALE, D. T. W.—*Brevissima: for Busy People.* Very Short Meditations for a Year on the Gospel of St. John. Third Edition. Pp. viii + 366. (Mowbray.) 1*s.* net.

HOLDEN, G. F. (the late).—*The Holy Ghost the Comforter.* With Introduction by the BISHOP OF LONDON. Pp. xvi + 166. (Longmans.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

HOLLINGWORTH, H.—*Advice for Meditation.* Pp. 8. (Mowbray.) Short Rules and Counsels. 3*d.* net.

JOHNSON, J. B.—*Spiritual Verses as Aids to Mental Prayer.* Pp. viii + 80. (Longmans.) 2*s.* net.

LAW, WILLIAM.—*Liberal and Mystical Writings.* With Introduction by W. SCOTT PALMER and Preface by W. P. DU BOSE. Pp. xviii + 166. (Longmans.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

LAYCOCK, G. T.—*Christ's Picture in Three Panels.* Pp. viii + 264. (Sampson Low.) 4*s.* 6*d.* net. 'The Lost Sheep,' 'The Lost Coin,' 'The Lost Son.' (St. Luke xv.)

L., E. S.—*A Manual for the Sick and Sorrowful.* Third Edition. Pp. xxiv + 176. (Elliot Stock.) 2*s.* net.

MOULE, RIGHT REV. H. C. G. (Bishop of Durham).—*Meditations for the Church's Year.* Pp. 246. (H. R. Allenson.) 3*s.* 6*d.*

RANDOLPH, B. W.—*The Holy Eucharist: Sacrifice and Feast.* 'Churchman's Penny Library.' Pp. 48. (Mowbray.) 1*d.*

RIDGEWAY, RIGHT REV. C. J. (Bishop of Chichester).—*Short Family*

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Prayer, with Psalms and Reading for Morning and Evening. Arranged for a Month. Pp. viii + 86. (Skeffingtons.) 1*s.* 6*d.* net.

ROMANES, E.—*Thoughts on Some of the Collects.* 'Churchman's Penny Library.' Pp. 46. (Mowbray.) 1*d.*

SAMPSON, G.—*The Prayer Manual for Daily Use.* Containing all necessary Private Devotions together with the Offices of Prime and Compline. Pp. viii + 240. (Mowbray.) 2*s.* net.

WESLEY, JOHN.—*Devotions for Every Day of the Week and the Great Festivals.* From *A Christian Library of Practical Divinity.* With Introduction by C. BODINGTON. 'The Library of Devotion.' Pp. xiv + 200. (Methuen.) 2*s.* A beautiful book.

WILKINSON, MOST REV. G. H. (late Bishop of St. Andrews).—*Our Private Prayers: some Practical Instructions.* 'Churchman's Penny Library.' Pp. 46. (Mowbray.) 1*d.*

'Art thou Weary?' Ten Minutes' Rest. By the Author of *Ten Minutes with Mothers.* Pp. viii + 104. (Wells Gardner.) 1*s.* 3*d.* net.

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We have much pleasure in calling attention to this 'First Annual Review.' It is of great importance and should be in the hands of all clergy at least, and of as many of the laity as possible.

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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Nº CXXXII. *JULY* 1908.

ART. I.—THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE AND THE UNION OF THE CHURCHES

1. *The Lambeth Conferences of* 1867, 1878, *and* 1888. With the Official Reports and Resolutions, together with the Sermons preached at the Conferences. A new and revised Edition, with Index. Edited by the RIGHT REV. RANDALL T. DAVIDSON, D.D., Bishop of Winchester. (London: S.P.C.K., 1896.)
2. *The Lambeth Conference of* 1897. With the Official Reports and Resolutions, together with Sermons preached at the Conference. Compiled under the direction of the MOST REV. RANDALL T. DAVIDSON, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury. (London: S.P.C.K., 1907.)
3. *Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion.* Holden at Lambeth Palace in July 1897. Encyclical Letter from the Bishops with the Resolutions and Reports. (London: S.P.C.K., 1897.)
4. *A Sketch of the First Four Lambeth Conferences,* 1867–1897. By the REV. WALTER HOBHOUSE, M.A., Hon. Canon and Chancellor of Birmingham Cathedral. (London: S.P.C.K., 1908.)
5. *Pan-Anglican Papers.* Being problems for consideration at the Pan-Anglican Congress, 1908. 'The Anglican Communion.' (London: S.P.C.K., 1908.)

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6. *The Rights and Responsibilities of National Churches.* By J. HOWARD B. MASTERMAN, M.A., Professor of History in the University of Birmingham. The 'Hulsean Lectures' for 1907–8. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1908.)
7. *Christ and the Nation.* Westminster and other Sermons. By H. HENSLEY HENSON, D.D., Canon of Westminster and Rector of St. Margaret's. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908.)
8. *Anglican Liberalism.* By TWELVE CHURCHMEN. (London: Williams & Norgate, 1908.)
9. *The Lambeth Conference; or, A Synod for the Anglican Communion.* By F. B. BOYCE. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, Ltd.)
10. *Acta I. Conventus Velehradensis Theologorum commercii studiorum inter Occidentem et Orientem cupidorum.* Jussu eiusdem Conventus edita. (Pragae Bohemorum: Rohliček & Sievers, 1908.)
11. *Revue Catholique des Églises.* Avril 1908. 'Le Congrès de Velehrad.' Par J. DEFER. (Paris: Librairie des Saints-Pères. Oxford: Parker & Son.)

THE various notable gatherings in connexion with the Church of England held during the present summer, the Pan-Anglican Congress and the Lambeth Conference, suggest that a careful enquiry into the meaning and mission of the Church of England, or to speak more accurately, the Anglican Communion, would be beneficial. We propose, therefore, in the course of this article to consider what the Anglican Communion is in itself, to ask what its relation should be to other Churches, and to enquire whether any further organization and closer relations between the different parts of this Communion are desirable.

I.

Let us begin at once by saying, and in the course of our remarks it will become clear how important it is that we should do so, that the Church of England implies a great deal more than any definitions or theories which have been

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put forward to explain it. It is a living, growing organism, full of life and vigour; and any living society is always most inadequately explained by the definitions which are supposed to describe it. It is with the Church of England as with the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church is a living society founded by our Lord Himself, exhibiting in a variety of ways in different ages the message with which it has been entrusted. For controversial purposes some definition of it is from time to time proposed; that definition may be quite correct so far as it goes; the features which it describes may be regarded rightly as essentials of the existence of the Church; but what a very inadequate idea of what the Church is and has been would be gained from any one of these definitions. As a rule they only describe its *differentia*, that is to say the points in which it differs from some society which claims to be Catholic but is not. They assume a knowledge of what the Church is.

So it is with the Church of England. That Church was founded as an integral portion of the Catholic Church more than thirteen hundred years ago. It therefore contains and represents everything which the Catholic Church could mean potentially. There is in it the fulness and richness of life which was communicated to the world by our Lord Jesus Christ when He founded the Church. Established amongst the English people it has had a long history and has collected to itself all the traditions of the English nation. It has presented the original message as interpreted by the particular genius of the English race. It has played a great part in the social and political history of the nation; and the part which it has played has reacted upon itself at various times. Alterations have been made in its constitution, but it cannot be described by the particular operations that it has suffered, because everything which was not specifically changed has been preserved. That was the case in particular at the Reformation. A change undoubtedly took place; a change which some people perhaps think too great and others too slight; but legally, historically, theologically the Church lived on unchanged except so far as definite alterations were made,

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and no one can understand the Church of England except in reference to its pre-Reformation history. Gradually, owing to controversial reasons, owing to the *differentia* between it and other bodies, a certain theory of the Church has been developed, which it is customary to call Anglicanism. When representatives of the Church of England have founded daughter Churches in the Colonies amongst our own countrymen, or amongst other races through missionary enterprise, the type of Christianity which they have introduced has been necessarily divorced from many of the associations attached to it in its native home. This is especially the case in one particular aspect, namely, that of Establishment. Gradually, therefore, the particular description of the Church of England which is represented by Anglicanism has become more prominent. At the Pan-Anglican Congress it is very largely that aspect which is emphasized. The Church of England, if we may use the expression, appears before us not as the National Church of a particular country but as a particular type of Christianity contending for its existence or supremacy amongst other varied types. The Church of England therefore has produced Anglicanism as a theory of Church Government; but Anglicanism is not an adequate or complete definition of the Church of England, or even of its daughter communities. The Church of England contains far richer traditions than can be limited by a particular definition of its polity. What it has contributed, and what it is contributing, to the sum of human thought arises from many other causes. What we believe to be an essential part of its Mission, the alliance it has created between religion and science, its moderation in politics and political theories, its broad-hearted sympathy, its variety, all these and many other traits are quite independent of the Anglican theory and are often lost sight of by the most vigorous advocates of that system of Church government.

We want therefore at the very outset to guard ourselves against thinking that any definition or any representation of the Anglican Communion, or the Church of England, is adequate as describing what it really is. And we will

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support what we have said by two extracts from the works before us. In one of the *Pan-Anglican Papers* the Dean of Westminster gives an admirable description of the Anglican Communion:—

'The Anglican Communion may in general terms be described as a portion of the Holy Catholic Church, independent of the Latin and Oriental branches of the Church, maintaining the Nicene faith and the historic order of ministry and sacraments and offering its worship by means of an English liturgy, translated where occasion requires into other vernacular tongues. It has grown with the expansion of the Anglo-Saxon race, and is predominantly Anglo-Saxon in character. But it is not narrowed by limitation to the empire of Great Britain, and finds its home also in the great Anglo-Saxon nation of the West, whose political destinies have become separated from those of the mother country. It thus witnesses to a unity which survives political separation; and to those who believe that the Anglo-Saxon race as a whole has a providential mission, the Anglican Communion may well appear destined to play an important part in the interpretation and fulfilment of that mission.

'The ideal function of the Anglican Communion is to express and guide the spiritual aspirations and activities of the Anglo-Saxon race. It has a duty besides to those other races whom Providence has in various degrees of closeness linked with that race; but towards some of these its ultimate responsibility may prove to be that of offering a type of the Apostolic faith and order which they may hereafter appropriate and develop in independence.' [1]

It will be interesting to compare this with a description of the Church of England as given to us by Dr. Percy Gardner, who is described as a representative of Lay Liberalism:—

'After all, the more we consider the position of other branches of the Church of Christ, the more we shall realise our inestimable advantages. On one side we see the Roman Church, with its newly-revived inquisition and its avowed determination to put an end to all liberty of thought. On the other side we see the smaller Protestant churches drifting hither and thither, and

[1] *Pan-Anglican Papers.* Sect. F, Group 1, 'The Anglican Communion: What is it?'

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welcoming the wildest aberrations in thought and practice. We cling the more closely to our Church, and feel the enormous advantages it can claim. In the first place, it is free and comprehensive, allowing wide latitude of views even to the clergy, so that a pastor who is really useful and devoted will seldom be called in question for any breadth of opinion, or for any views as to ritual, unless he is intolerant of the differing views of others. In the second place, it is national, representing the English race on its most characteristic side—a slow-minded race, with a strong belief in truth and righteousness, not given to the pursuit of distant ideals, but eager to do what is right under the present circumstances; a race accessible to literature and poetry, but without much feeling for art; a tolerant, quiet, and manly people, with a faculty for command. In the third place, it lies close to the facts of personal religion, interposing no sacerdotal class between the souls of men and God, but trying to bring the worshipper and the Worshipped into close relations. In all its services such great spiritual realities as sin and pardon, atonement and holiness, the desire of a better life and cravings for Divine aid are made the main theme. It fully realises that the Church can only provide the opportunity; the real work of salvation lies between the soul and its Maker. And, in the fourth place, it has historic justification; it is a great stem of the Christian tree, drawing sap from the roots, connected by a never-broken tradition with the early history of Christianity, a reservoir to contain all that the merits of saints and heroes in the past have contributed to the richness of spiritual life in our later days.'[1]

We have given these two extracts coming from men of very different types of mind, because both writers seem to realize the richness, if we may so say, of the inheritance of the Church of England and how very inadequate are any mere definitions of its bare characteristics.

II.

Having guarded ourselves in this way, let us consider the two main theories which are held with regard to the Church of England. The first is that which would identify the Church simply with national Christianity. We find

[1] *Anglican Liberalism*, pp. 140–142.

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a very typical advocacy of this theory in the works which come with remarkable frequency from the pen of the rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster, Canon Henson. In *Christ and the Nation* he repeats the creed which he has been putting before us for several years past. He has grasped the value and the power of the national position of Christianity, and he contrasts this with the undoubted, and to all of us painful, fact that instead of one national Church representing and providing for the whole of the nation we have a multitude of different religious bodies contending one against another and in many ways injuring the presentment of Christianity. Now, on the general point which Canon Henson has at heart we should be prepared to sympathize with him heartily. We believe that the Church *should* be the Church of the nation. We believe that the Church should be comprehensive, we believe that there should be a close union between the nation in its temporal organization and in its spiritual organization. The religious significance of nationality, the value and the force of national Christianity as against a narrow ultramontanism of any description, is brought forward admirably in Professor Masterman's Hulsean Lectures:—

'Patriotism and Churchmanship—the sense of responsibility, gladly accepted, to the national life, and the sense of responsibility, gladly accepted, to the whole great body and brotherhood of the Christian Church—these are the two influences in human life that have proved themselves strong enough to lift men above greed and self-interest and all ignoble things. Separated, they confuse human life with a sense of divided allegiance, and when life's noblest things are in contest life's ignoble things prosper. Prolong the contest, and the whole moral fibre of the nation's life is weakened; the lust of personal gain usurps the place of the passion for the common good; prosperity brings demoralisation; and He Who wept over Jerusalem watches again the tragedy of

> One task more declined, one more footpath untrod,
> One more devil's triumph and sorrow for angels,
> One wrong more to man, one more insult to God.

There is no sin that more inevitably brings its own punishment than the putting asunder what God has joined together.

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'But patriotism that has behind it all the force of the Catholic faith would be a regenerating power lifting up the lives of nations to God. It would glorify civic service with the light of high idealism, it would change the voter's question, "What shall I get" into the question "What can I give"; over frontiers now bristling with bayonets, hands would be stretched out in a new rivalry of brotherhood; the light that dawned long ago to lighten the Gentiles would shine at last into eyes grown dim with long waiting. The peasant of Armenia or Macedonia; the black serf hounded to death in the Congo forests in the name of European civilization; the men who go under in the strife of modern industrialism because the nations have forgotten wherein lies their true wealth; all these are waiting for the coming of the nations Christian not in name only but in deed and in truth. Of the tree of life that grows in the paradise of God it is written, "The leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations."'[1]

This is a noble ideal and wisely expressed. And we commend to our readers Mr. Masterman's exposition of his theme.

Not only do we feel the value of Establishment, but we would go further and say that some of those Churches which pride themselves on being the most loyal to the Anglican ideal are for that very reason inadequate representatives of the spirit of the Anglican Communion. They have taken one particular point which is of paramount importance, and they have exalted it to being the only feature of the Church which they care to preserve. We find little stress laid upon the identification of the Church with the whole life of the people, but a tendency to assert independence of State control from an excessive fear of Erastianism; a determination too that their Church shall represent only one side even of the religious traditions of the Church of England, and no very loyal or ardent desire to bring the Church in line with the intellectual traditions of the nation.

But having said so much we venture to think that the creed put forward by Canon Henson is strangely inadequate as a solution of the difficulties which he has in view. The

[1] *The Rights and Responsibilities of National Churches*, pp. 23-25.

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whole of his mind seems to be concentrated on the preservation of the Establishment. The Church of England is asked to give up every feature which distinguishes it from the various Nonconformist bodies, in order that all alike may reunite on the basis of an Established Church. We are asked to accept from the hands of Parliament a newly State-drafted Creed for our schools and to brand as sacerdotalists everyone who is not prepared to accept this strange abnegation of the principles to which we have always been attached. It is obvious that Canon Henson is laying the whole of the stress on what is 'accidental.' We are quite prepared to advocate the principle of Establishment, where it is wise and possible. We do not wish to destroy the establishment of the Church of England; but the visit to us of the representatives of the non-established churches of America and the daughter communities beyond the sea is a clear and definite proof that this principle of Establishment, however valuable, is not essential, and to sacrifice to it our principles would be to barter gold for brass. But, further, nearly half the Church of England and almost all the Nonconformist bodies unite in doubting the value of Establishment. Only the other day the present writer was talking to a leading Nonconformist divine and was suggesting to him that the Church of England was comprehensive enough to include within its limits him and many other good men. The answer given was that that was quite so—if it were not for the Establishment. Canon Henson wants us to give up Orders to save the Establishment; but the great body of Nonconformist divines whom we are asked to attract to us by the abnegation of our historical position have great yearnings for that historical position, are half inclined to long for Anglican Orders, but entirely decline to have anything to do with the principle of Establishment. If reunion is to come, that will be the last principle upon which it will come. It will be *in spite of* the Establishment and not because of it that we shall have it. We all know how from time to time it is suggested to us that if only we will give up this or give up that, reunion with different bodies will be easy.

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Sometimes it is in connexion with Rome, sometimes in connexion with the East, sometimes in connexion with the various Protestant communities. We are firmly convinced that that is exactly the wrong way to approach the problem. Reunion will come because people wish to get what we have, not to make us give up what we possess.

We would further suggest that in working out his ideas Canon Henson has entirely failed to realize the trend of modern thought amongst the most vigorous of the younger members of the Church. It is quite true that the questions with which they are occupied are not those of the old High Church school; it is quite true that they would shew impatience on many matters which were of interest to an older generation. They do not trouble much about the Ornaments rubric, they are not prepared to take so rigid a position on the Athanasian Creed. They have changed their views on the Old Testament; they would interpret Orders in a less rigid way; but this does not in any sense mean that they have deserted the older ideals of Churchmanship. It rather means that they feel that that phase of controversy is passed and the position gained. They are convinced of the soundness of their position. They recognize the Holy Communion as the central act of Christian worship. They have no doubt of the identity in all essentials of the English Communion and the Roman Mass and the Eucharist of the Primitive Church. They have no doubt that the Ornaments rubric allows Eucharistic vestments. The question with them is not whether vestments are legal, ecclesiastically or civilly, but whether they are edifying. The conception of the Church of England which the Tractarians struggled for is to them attained, and they look upon it as the starting-point for developing the services of the Church, so as best to promote the piety and religious life of the nation. So it is with regard to Church Orders. Here again the position is won. There is no need to fuss about the Apostolic Succession, for it is an historical fact which enriches their whole conception of the Church. There is no need to be over-anxious about Church Orders,

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because they know that on every Catholic principle the Orders of the Church of England are regular. They do not define Apostolic Succession on the mere basis of a mechanical theory, but as a living, historical reality, a truth which adds to the enrichment of the Church. They no more intend to give up their Orders than their Creeds or their Sacraments. They invite others to share in this heritage, and their only concern is how the intermediate steps may be made most easy.

III.

We do not believe, then, that it is in any way desirable to give up part of our heritage as members of the Catholic Church in order to help reunion. It will be convenient now to consider the bases of Anglicanism as they have been officially defined, and for this we must turn to the Lambeth Conference of 1888 :—

'That, in the opinion of this Conference, the following Articles supply a basis on which approach may be by God's blessing made towards Home Reunion :—

(*a*) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as "containing all things necessary to salvation," and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.

(*b*) The Apostles' Creed, as the Baptismal Symbol; and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.

(*c*) The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of Institution, and of the elements ordained by Him.

(*d*) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church.'[1]

These resolutions have been called the Lambeth Quadrilateral—a somewhat curious term, but the significance of

[1] Resolutions formally adopted by the Conference of 1888. No. 11, in *The Lambeth Conferences*, p. 280.

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them is that they have received very wide assent throughout the Anglican Communion; for example, we have read with care all the various papers on the subject contributed in relation to the late Pan-Anglican Congress, and we have found these principles emphasized by representatives of the Anglican Communion from all parts of the world, of various races, and so far as we can judge of various parties in the Church. Whatever difficulties may be felt, and may be involved practically, in connexion with them, there is a remarkable combination of opinion in favour of adhering to them. We therefore propose to examine them with some care so as to ascertain exactly what they mean, what they state, and also what they do not state.

The first principle laid down by the Lambeth resolutions is the supremacy of the Bible. No definition is given of the contents, and therefore it may be presumed that it means the Old and New Testaments as we receive them, with the Apocrypha recognized though not exalted to the same position as the other books. The position of the Church of England with regard to the Bible is a clear one. It recognizes the books of the Old and New Testaments in the first place as the record of a Divine revelation made to man; controversially it states that 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation'; but it has never accepted the statement that 'the Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants.' It knows that it would not be possible to have made the Christian religion as we have it out of the books of the New Testament; it knows further that the Church represents an independent tradition as to what Christianity is. It recognizes the supreme value of the Bible as the accurate record of the original teaching of the Church, and therefore holds that nothing should be imposed upon anyone for which there is not this accurate authority. Moreover, it has always carefully avoided imposing upon its members any theory of inspiration or rule of interpreta-

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tion. At different periods various theories have been held. Theologians of the Church of England may be quoted in favour of every view from verbal inspiration downwards, but the Church has always left its members free. How strong its position is recent experience has shewn us. The scholar who has had to approach the Old and New Testaments in the light of modern thought has found nothing in the tradition or formulas of his Church to hamper him. He has found within it sober tradition and historical criticism which he has been able to use as a starting-point. He has had to meet a certain amount of popular prejudice with which he is quite capable of sympathizing, for he knows that the introduction of new ideas, especially in relation to religion, must be done tenderly; he knows that he must respect what may be the ignorant prejudices of the pious believer; but he has felt his place within the Church secure and the voice of the Church has approved of his position. But further he has felt that his position is strengthened by the fact that the Bible has never been made to occupy in the Church of England a place which historically it is unfitted to fill. He has been able to approach the study of critical questions with the consciousness that he was not breaking down his sole authority. If a man asked, What is left for me to believe? You have proved that the Bible is wrong in this or that detail, how can I know that it is right in others? he has been able to point to the formulated traditions of Christianity as contained in the Creeds, and to say, Here is the teaching of the Church; this is what was taught before many of the books of the Bible were written; this is the religion which is behind the Bible and which produced it. It is proved and supported by the Bible. As has recently been said, Biblical criticism for a man who does not recognize the authority of the Church leaves him wandering about without any compass to guide him. The man who accepts the guidance of the Church has not lost the compass, but learnt to interpret a map better.

The second point of the Lambeth resolutions bases the doctrine of the Church on the Apostles' and the Nicene

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Creeds: that is to say, for the statement of what is Christianity it accepts the guidance of the Universal Church. The Apostles' Creed is used for the Baptismal formula. Its authority is that of interpreting in a simpler form the statements of the Nicene Creed. The Creed of the Church is that Creed which, promulgated at the Council of Chalcedon, expresses the authority of the Church in its most definite form as having been formally put forth by a general council and unanimously received by all branches of the Christian Church. It represents Catholic Christianity. Again the Lambeth resolutions are equally important both for what they leave out as well as for what they say. We all know that there are Confessions innumerable. Each Church has attempted to define its doctrines as against others, sometimes with the greatest minuteness. There are decrees of the Council of Trent, Thirty-Nine Articles, the Westminster Confession, the Augsburg Confession. There is the *Confessio Belgica* and the *Confessio Helvetica*, and so on. All these the Lambeth Conference definitely sets aside and asks us to unite in what is older and more comprehensive than any of them. We cannot reunite on the teaching of the Reformation, we must go behind the Reformation to the teaching of Christianity. The same plain appeal to 'an antiquity and a universality' authoritatively supported by the Creeds would also tell us that there is nothing else which we have a right to impose on one another as a necessity of reunion. We have already shewn how strong this position is at the present day, but a few words are perhaps necessary in regard to the attempt which is occasionally made to undermine the Creed. Sometimes it takes the form of putting the Nicene Creed on a level with the Athanasian Creed, or with the Thirty-Nine Articles. Some want to go back to the first Creed at Nicea; some want to eliminate the belief in the Virgin Birth. Others, again, like Professor Harnack, seem to desire to banish from Christianity all intellectual definition or accuracy of doctrinal statement. As regards these various theories one or two remarks may be made. The strength of the Creed is that it may be proved by most

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certain warrant of Holy Scripture. The only condition on which it would be necessary to cut out the statement as to the Virgin Birth would be a complete denial of what for convenience we must call the supernatural elements in the first teaching of Christianity. If our Lord was not in a real sense the Son of God, the statement of the Virgin Birth is incredible; if He were so, it makes no greater demands on our faith than the remaining teaching of the Creed. As the basis of Christian life we cannot go behind the tradition of the Church, supported by the language of Scripture and by the conviction of Christian experience.

The other point, the attempt to banish any form of dogmatic formula, is a natural reaction from the excessive dogmatism of previous generations. It is of course true that language as an expression of Divine things is always inadequate and always symbolical. But the limitation of theological language as symbolical is recognized by all thoughtful theologians, and we do not approach any nearer to truth by not attempting to define as accurately as we can the fundamental belief in our Lord Jesus Christ, God and Man, and the significance of that belief; for human need requires, as experience has shewn, that it should be defined in language approaching to accuracy, and none of the speculation or criticism of recent years has suggested any adequate reason for departing from the Christian tradition. It must be on the basis of the uninterpolated Creed of Chalcedon that we must look forward, if ever, to bringing together the divided Christian Church.

The third Lambeth resolution emphasizes the need of the acceptance of Sacraments: and here again it is equally important both for what it says and for what it does not say. Our Lord Jesus Christ commanded us to baptize, and commanded us to celebrate the Eucharist in His memory. In both cases He set us an example of what we were to do, and what words we were to say. This is what the Church has always done and must continue to do. But He did not tell us to hold any particular belief about those Sacraments, nor did the Church for many generations consider it necessary to formulate its belief. The teaching is in the rite itself.

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The Lambeth Conference, therefore, has wisely laid down that which is to be the basis of reunion and therefore is the fundamental characteristic of the Christian Church; it obeys its Lord's commands by celebrating the Sacraments and has not attempted to impose any theory about them. This is in accordance also with the tradition of the Church of England. It is admitted that the formularies of the Church of England allow every belief except Zwinglianism and Transubstantiation. Practically, within the Church of England, living and worshipping in union with one another there are those whose beliefs are almost indistinguishable from Zwinglianism and those whose beliefs are almost indistinguishable from Transubstantiation, and writings of divines may be quoted within the Church of England in favour of almost any theory. The Lambeth Conference, therefore, is true both to the intention of our Lord as laid down in the institution of the rite, the traditions of the Primitive Church and to the traditions of our own Church. All that we need in the future is to be quite consistent with this tradition. Let our teaching be as rich and full and varied as we like; it is a poor philosophy which shrinks from what used to be called 'supernaturalism' in the Sacrament. It is a philosophy entirely out of touch with the whole spirit of the day; for men would see the Divine everywhere rather than banish it from all material things. What we have to look forward to in the future is to be frankly consistent, and, while guarding the celebration of the Sacrament with the utmost care and teaching everything which the tradition of the Church contains as to its bearing on spiritual life, to be careful not to do this in any spirit of fear or to think it necessary to examine beliefs on the subject of the Eucharist, or to banish from the Communion anyone, whether he believes too little or too much about it. We want no formulas, either positive or negative.

The last point is the acceptance of the Historic Episcopate. Now what does this mean? It means in the first place the acceptance of that form of Church Order in which the Church is governed by bishops, priests and deacons in

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accordance with primitive custom; if we want a typical instance, in accordance with the Ignatian Letters. It means the recognition of this form of Church Government as the right and proper method of the government of the Church Universal. It means the recognition of the fact that this Order has prevailed from the earliest times to the present day. It means again the belief that the right method of Ordination must be by properly consecrated Bishops as those who, in the words of the Article, 'have publick authority given unto them in the Congregation, to call and send Ministers into the Lord's vineyard.' And beyond this it does not go. It confines itself to the statement of what ought to be the method of Church government; it does not impose upon anyone any particular theory as to the grace of Orders or the Ministry or the Apostolic Succession, or any of these things that have been read into it. It does not discuss what Ordination means, it does not say what Ordination is. And here again the attitude of the resolution is right. The theory of the Ministry has varied from time to time in the Christian Church. Different ages have interpreted certain definite historical facts in different ways. The theories of Ignatius, of Irenaeus and Cyprian are different. At the present time within the Church of England, and not only within the Church of England but within the High Church party, the theory of Dr. Moberly is fundamentally different from that which was held in a former generation by Dr. Neale. Our particular point at present is not what theory is right or what is wrong, or what is most edifying, but the point that there is no theory which can be called Catholic. The *fact* is what is Catholic, the *fact* is what is essential; and so if we are told that as a step to reunion we have to give up the Apostolic Succession, we must ask what that means. Does it mean giving up the particular theory of the Church's Ministry? In that case we have to answer: The Church does not impose any theory of its ministry upon its members. Does it, however, mean giving up Church Order, the orderly, regular method of Succession and Ordination which has prevailed in the Church from the earliest times and which is the link

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that unites us with the past? Then the answer must be: We cannot give it up, and we shall be a very poor Church indeed for you to join if we give it up.

Let us conclude this part of our enquiry by reminding our readers of the limited scope of these resolutions. They merely lay down a basis for reunion; they do not define the Church or explain its rites and doctrine. The Bible is not merely a book to prove doctrine, it is an inexhaustible treasure for the spiritual life. Church tradition does not merely give us the Creeds; rather we are heirs of that great company of the saints of all ages, and it is the richness of their lives and thoughts which we inherit. The worship of the Church is not limited by a formal adhesion to Sacramental custom as outlined above. Who can realize the full meaning of the Sacraments and rites which the Church has handed down to us? Church Order does not exhaust the significance of Orders. The priesthood of the laity acting through the ministerial order of the Church's priesthood raises the dignity of human nature. We recognize all this, and because we do so we accept the Lambeth resolutions as representing a sound and healthy basis upon which we can strengthen our own union and on which we can seek reunion with other bodies.

IV.

Accepting then the position laid down in these Resolutions, in what way is reunion possible with the separated bodies which are non-Episcopalian in their character? There are in the first place certain Lutheran and other Churches whose claim to regular Orders is doubtful. By this we mean that whereas in the case of yet other Churches there is no claim made, in these cases there are reasons for believing that not only is the claim made, but it may be to a certain extent justified. In this connexion we would simply like to quote a suggestion which is put forward by Dr. Mason in one of the *Pan-Anglican Papers*:—

'When Zinzendorf, the second founder of the Moravian Brethren, was working for the establishment of his Brotherhood

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in English territory, he proposed to the English Episcopate a scheme for joint ordinations, in which English and Moravian bishops should act together. This was only to be done in supplying ministers for the Moravian community in England. But the suggestion is one which might well be extended. There could be no harm in approaching the authorities of the Moravian and Scandinavian Churches to see whether they would not accept the suggestion. Some Danish divines, when the question has been discussed whether the Danish Church would accept the aid of English bishops in restoring the broken succession, have retorted that the English succession is not beyond the reach of doubts. The retort is not without a certain debating force. Might not the scheme of joint consecrations be widened so as to bring in elements of additional security? Is it certain that the Old Catholic bishops, of whose valid consecration no one stands in doubt, would refuse to co-operate in such a scheme, which might ultimately have for its effect the restoration of an unquestionably Catholic communion through the whole of Northern Europe, and could not but powerfully affect the rest of Christendom?'[1]

We pass on a step further. What is to be our relation to the Presbyterian Churches? Here above all we should deprecate a too hasty conclusion, but there can be no doubt that the matter is in the air. Somewhat indistinct rumours have reached us from Australia that a definite request for reunion has come to the Church of Australia from the Presbyterian body there. Then again only recently the present Moderator of the Scottish Church spoke definitely on the subject, but told us that no reunion would be possible unless we gave up the doctrine of Apostolic Succession. To that we should instantly reply that the Apostolic Succession is not a doctrine but a fact; and we have always thought that the Presbyterian Church claimed the Presbyterian Succession, and maintained that that was sufficient; that they also believed in Apostolic Succession. At any rate the question is definitely being thought about, and we will approach the matter in relation to the proposals

[1] *Pan-Anglican Papers*, Sect. F, Group 2G. 'The Anglican Communion in Relation to other Christian Bodies. Steps towards Unity,' p. 8. By the Rev. A. J. Mason, D.D.

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which have been made in Australia, where the problem is a simple one, uncomplicated by the question of Establishment, and where the two Churches are both ministering to the same body of people, within the same area; where therefore reunion into one corporate body, and not merely intercommunion, is necessary.

Now we understand that the Presbyterians are prepared to accept a great deal. They are prepared to accept Episcopacy and the Prayer Book, and we may presume that they do not desire to continue their adherence to the Westminster Confession, which in these circumstances would be impossible. The only difficulty therefore that arises is the question of the validity or regularity of their orders. And here what has occurred in the past in relation to ourselves and the Church of Rome may help us in approaching this new problem. When the Roman Church distinctly condemned Anglican Orders so far from weakening our belief in them it intensified it. We felt that the definite statement that we had no Orders and no Sacraments was one which, so far from attracting us to the Church of Rome, made us feel that we had no communion with it. Now let us put ourselves in the position of a loyal member of the Presbyterian Church who believes in Presbyterianism. Would be he willing to submit to a statement that he and his ancestors before him for three hundred years had never received any grace through Sacrament, that he is not in any real sense a member of the Church, that he is to be left to the uncovenanted mercies of God, that the great divines of the Scottish Church have been little better than impostors, that they were only laymen. Now it is quite obvious that it is not desirable to ask the members of a Christian Church to accept such a statement of their position. It is necessary therefore to go somewhat deeply into certain problems that are raised.

The first question we must ask is Who are members of the Church? and the answer that we must make is, All baptized Christians who believe in Jesus Christ and have not forfeited their inheritance. They may be well- or ill-instructed members of the Church; they may, owing to

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their unfortunate position, be deprived of many Christian privileges; they may be unworthy members of the Church. All these things may be true in any particular case, but that the Church of Christ on earth consists of all the baptized, who by that fact are brought together into a corporate unity, however much that unity may have been marred, must be our starting point, and we are glad to think that the truth of this principle is being more and more widely recognized. We should like to draw the attention of our readers to a very important Conference held at Velehrad in Moravia on July 25, 26, 27, 1907, at which the relations between the Roman Church and the Orthodox Churches was discussed. At this Congress a paper was read by Père Jean Urban, S.J. 'Il fut écouté, nous dit le rapport du Congrès, avec l'assentiment général, et, soit pour la nouveauté, soit pour l'importance de la matière, accueilli par de chaleureux applaudissements.'

As to the character of the Church the following opinions are expressed:

'La fonction propre des caractères sacramentaux est de réduire les hommes marqués de ces invisibles liens à l'unité organique du corps mystique du Christ. . . . Le caractère du baptême est la forme première et fondamentale par laquelle le corps de l'Église est établi et persiste dans son être. . . . Il s'ensuit que *nul homme baptisé validement ne peut*, tant qu'il vit ici-bas, *être totalement privé de la dignité de membre du corps de l'Église.*' . . . 'Rien ne s'oppose donc à ce que nous regardions même les protestants comme des membres du corps mystique du Christ.' [1]

[1] These quotations are taken from an abstract of the paper in the *Revue Catholique des Égliscs*, April 1908, p. 226. The following are extracts from the paper itself as given in the Acts of the Congress: '*In hac ergo sententia character baptismalis est prima et fundamentalis forma, qua ecclesiae corpus in suo esse constituitur et perdurat. Quod si verum est, perspicua sequitur conclusio* neminem valide baptisatum, *quamdiu in statu viae moratur*, dignitate membri corporis ecclesiae ex toto privari posse. . . . *Relicto sermone de* conversione *graecorum russorumque, potius eo ex utraque parte tenendum est, ut* essentialis unitas ecclesiae universalis, nostris sensibus abscondita, fiat visibilis per unionem externam duarum ecclesiasticarum communitatum, quas ab

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We are glad to see that the same principle was enunciated in a leading article of the *Church Times* on June 5, 1908, where it is stated that 'If the Church be defined, and we think it is correctly defined, as the whole company of the baptized, then the Presbyterians of Scotland are in a true sense the Church of Scotland.' In the first place then, whatever theory we may hold we do not wish to un-church Dissenters or any members of the Christian Church, whether Presbyterians or any other Protestant Nonconformists.

In the second place let us get rid of the expression 'validity' of Orders and Sacraments. Whether or no Orders and Sacraments are valid is after all something which we cannot settle. What we should ask is whether they are 'regular,' that is to say whether a particular body of Christians correctly interprets the mind of Christ declared to us by His Church in the fulfilment of His command to celebrate the Sacraments and to send out messengers of His Gospel.

Probably the views of Dr. Pusey would be somewhat more rigidly expressed than would be customary by many High Churchmen at the present day, but he is very careful not to deny the spiritual value of the Sacraments of those who have not episcopal orders.

'But while maintaining that they only are commissioned to administer the Sacraments who have received that commission from those appointed in succession to bestow it, we have never denied that God may make Sacraments efficacious even when irregularly administered: we should trust it might be so.' [1]

We have then to be sure not that the Sacraments of the Presbyterian bodies are valid, but they that are regular.

Then, thirdly, we have to ask, what is the meaning of schism? The ordinary point of view of one body of Christians when speaking of schismatics is to suggest that they are themselves the Church, and all the others are schismatics, that is persons who have separated themselves from it.

invicem divisit historia, quin tamen respectu Christi separati remaneant.' (*Acta I. Conventus Velehradensis*, pp. 24, 25.)

[1] *Notes and Questions on the Catholic Faith and Religion . . . from the Works of Dr. Pusey*, p. 176. London, 1891.

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Now historically that point of view cannot be held in any case. To an impartial observer it is quite impossible to say that the Eastern Church separated from the West or the West from the East. They divided. A division was caused and a schism was created, that is to say a division in a body ; so, at the time of the Reformation, a schism was created, or rather many schisms were created. But it is not that this or that Church separated from the great body of the Church : a division was created in the body, sometimes large, sometimes small ; and so in relation to ourselves and a body like the Wesleyans. And if this be the proper point of view it is equally important to recognize that the sin of schism does not probably in any case lie wholly on one side or the other. Neither Leo X. nor Henry VIII. can be considered entirely free from either moral or intellectual blame. Even the strongest admirers of Luther cannot acquit him of blame. We are not prepared to defend either the spiritual life of the Church of England in the eighteenth century, or the spiritual self-assertion of the Wesleyan movement. Schism means sin in the past and needs penitence and reparation in the future.

Let us, then, suppose that negotiations have reached a point at which the Episcopalian and Presbyterian bodies in an Australian diocese or in Australia as a whole wish to unite, that they have agreed upon a common polity, that they have agreed upon a common form of worship and a common Creed, and that they are prepared definitely to join together so as to make one corporate whole. What is needed ? Surely two things. In the first place a great service of penitence and reconciliation. Surely we should prepare with prayer and fasting for such a work as the apostles and prophets did when sending forth Paul and Barnabas. And in the second place for each of the clergy, whether Episcopalians or Presbyterians, taking part in that community, a new commission may be considered necessary. The Anglicans were appointed with a commission to certain Anglican Churches, but a large body are to come in who have been outside that commission and to whom they have had no commission. The Presbyterian ministers will in certain

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cases equally be given, if they are to go on exercising their ministry, a commission, not only to their own members but to members of the Anglican Church. Surely, then, what is required to consummate such a reunion is a great united service of penitence and prayer and an extension of the commission amongst those religious bodies for their new work—an extension of the commission which should be accompanied by a proper and regular laying on of hands. In no case would it be a new Ordination nor would it be a hypothetical Ordination. It would be simply an extension and regularization of the commission already given.

We venture to put this proposal before our readers for their very careful consideration. We have deliberately abstained from making it more than a suggestion, or from filling in the outlines. But we think the suggestions contained in it give the lines on which some of these difficult problems that we have raised may be solved in the future.

For ourselves, however anxious we may be for strengthening and uniting the Christian Church, we are not over anxious for any too speedy conclusion. We know that all the lines of thought are working and working inevitably for greater union, and we dread a check being produced by an excessive desire for accomplishing something. Anyone who is acquainted with the best theological thought of the day in relation to East and West, Catholic and Protestant, will know that many problems which seem to prevent reunion in one direction or another have for the leading minds of the different Churches been already solved; and we believe that earnest prayer and thought and patience in the next few years will do a great deal more towards solution. What would be the greatest disaster for Christianity, in our opinion, would be that there should be a gradual reuniting of the two different elements, the Catholic and the Protestant, in two hostile camps. In common parlance—whether it be accurate or not, we are not prepared to say—the Anglican Communion is both Catholic and Protestant. At any rate it has elements of sympathy with both sides, and it must do nothing to injure this position towards either the one or the other. It must

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not give up its Protestant element for the sake of a somewhat nebulous hope of union with the older Churches, nor be too anxious to reunite at any cost with separated bodies at home.

V.

There is one more thought in connexion with the Anglican Communion which demands some consideration. The continued existence and, may we add, the success of the Lambeth Conferences and the creation for the first time of the Pan-Anglican Congress have stirred up in many people's minds a desire for a larger amount of organization of Anglicanism. Why should not we have a new Patriarchate? Why should we not have a Synod of the Anglican Communion? Why should we not pass canons for the whole body? Why at any rate should we not have a Standing Committee which would be able to exercise some sort of authority? What is the good of meetings which only talk and pass resolutions and have no power at all? The Lambeth Conference costs the two hundred and fifty bishops who attend it large sums of money and takes up a great deal of their time. The Pan-Anglican Congress computed in pounds, shillings and pence comes to a considerable expenditure of human energy. Is it not a waste that all these things exist and there should be no permanent result? Would not the Church of England be stronger if it had some central organization like Rome?

We have all heard these and suchlike proposals. We can only express our hope that none of them will be carried out. We believe that the only result would be to create friction and disunion, and that they are entirely alien to the true spirit of Episcopacy and the ideal of the Catholic Church.

Let us begin by taking an analogy from the history of the first three centuries. During those three centuries the Church was organized on a definite Episcopalian model. The dioceses were generally small; in each diocese there was a Bishop with his council of presbyters, assisted by the laity, who took their definite place in the government of

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the Church. Each community exercised somewhat severe discipline on its own members; but there was no authority except a moral one. The Bishops met together in conference, or visited one another, and there was constant intercourse up and down the world of the Roman Empire between the different Christian communities; they quickly and rapidly learnt one from another; they followed one another in explaining or condemning new thoughts and ideas; they built up their services on a similar mode. They had many difficulties to contend against, difficulties of heresies and schisms and questions of discipline, but they surmounted them all by the general sense of the Church, preserved by intercourse between the different bodies. There was extraordinary unity and very little uniformity except in broad outlines. Sometimes by a process of discipline, sometimes apparently without discipline, the Church instinctively shed off different forms of unwholesome teaching, and by the time of the Council of Nicea we find a strong and homogeneous body. From that time onwards the ideal began to be destroyed; the elements of Establishment and State-compulsion came in, and also (and very rapidly), especially in the West, the central organization of the Church. The Church of Rome begins to be a Church exercising authority over other Churches, and very quickly the harmony is destroyed.

We are not now concerned with considering how far the strong organization of the mediaeval Papacy may not have been necessary for the Christian Church. We are concerned with the Anglican Church in the present day, and we believe that in this as in other ways the model of the Primitive Episcopacy is the most healthy one to follow. Intercourse over the whole inhabited world is hardly more difficult than intercourse throughout the Roman Empire was in the second and third centuries, and it is we believe largely by the development of the true spirit of Episcopacy both on its positive and its negative side that the unity of the Anglican Communion will be best preserved. There is no central organization for the Eastern Orthodox Church, and yet its unity is as great as, probably greater than,

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that of the Roman Church. Unity co-exists there with a remarkable absence of uniformity. The difference of spirit between Russia and Greece goes deep down, for the spirit of the Eastern Church is interpreted in a very different way by two such different races and nations as the Slavonic and the Hellenic. The spectacle which is presented to us at the present day by the Church of Rome, in which since the time of the Council of Trent Episcopacy has been deprived of its independent Divine sanction, is not one which attracts most of us. It is not so much the particular doctrinal differences between that Church and ourselves, nor the elements of superstition which are supposed to exist in its more popular manifestation, for we know that there are very strange and curious superstitions in some quarters amongst ourselves, but it is the over-centralized authority, the subordination of the Bishops to the Curia, and of Priests to the Bishops, the suppression of freedom and liberty of thought, the impossibility of allowing free discussion or divergence of opinion; all these are influences deadening to the Church.

We sincerely hope, therefore, that nothing will ever come out of these gatherings at Lambeth except the building up of Catholic unity. The only ultimate sanction that there can ever be will be for one Church, for one diocese or collection of dioceses to excommunicate from itself other Churches, that is to say, to cut off communion between the two. There is no fundamental difference between an Oecumenical Council and a Conference of Bishops. The decrees of the Oecumenical Council are only binding because accepted by each diocese or group of dioceses individually, and that is exactly the case with regard to a Conference of Bishops. If what the Bishops arrange is generally accepted it is good. If it is not, it passes away and is forgotten. They can only legislate in accordance with public opinion, for they have no coercive authority and we do not wish them to have any. We wish in fact throughout to support the idea of diocesan Episcopacy in its most complete form. It is, we know, considered unfashionable in many quarters to say anything in favour of one's own

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particular religious views and one's own religious communion. For ourselves so far as we have been able to survey the field of Church history and to watch the development of other modern Churches, though we recognize in many ways the difficulties of our own Church and though we quite realize that the ideal of Episcopacy is only a one-sided expression even of the organization of the Christian Church, yet at the same time Episcopacy seems to us to present just that combination of organized authority and local freedom which the cause of religion demands. Historical continuity, great elasticity in practical manifestation, a simple and straightforward executive combined with somewhat hesitating power of legislative change; all these seem to us healthy possessions. We hope, therefore, that there will be no practical outcome in the way of organization arising out of the present Conferences and reunions. We hope that such congresses may continue to take place in the future; we shall be glad to see them taking place elsewhere than in London; we believe in the vigorous intercourse between Church and Church, both through writings and through the living voice of men. We believe in the existence of a body like the Lambeth Conference, which may somewhat slowly and in a conservative manner formulate public opinion, and in the reacting influence of this on the dioceses all over the world; but we do not believe in any attempt to create another Patriarchate, or to build up an Anglican Curia.

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ART. II.—SOCIALISM AND AN ALTERNATIVE.

1. *Democracy and Reaction.* By L. T. HOBHOUSE. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1904.)
2. *Socialism and Individualism.* By SIDNEY WEBB and others. (London: A. C. Fifield, 1908.)
3. *Socialism and the Family.* By H. G. WELLS. (London: A. C. Fifield, 1906.)
4. *Socialism and Society.* By J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P. (London: T. & C. Jack, 1907.)
5. *Christianity and the Social Order.* By R. J. CAMPBELL. (London: Chapman & Hall, 1907.)
6. *New Worlds for Old.* By H. G. WELLS. (London: A. Constable & Co., Ltd., 1908.)

I.

IN the article on 'Socialism and Reform,' published in January last,[1] an attempt was made to analyze the conception which is fundamental in the wider form of English Socialism—that of the social organism. The article was designed as a contribution to the philosophy of politics, and its argument was in part a philosophical argument. It was thus an adventure into unfamiliar ways of thought, made necessary by the fact that Socialism, in its completely developed and most dangerous form, is itself a philosophy. Sometimes, it is true, Socialism is represented as a mere expedient for reaching certain practical or moral ends, but at other times it comes before us as a reasoned doctrine of human society. In this form it is a distinctively philosophical body of thought, and suggests questions which go down to the very foundations of politics and ethics.

It is a most mischievous mistake to think that Socialism is merely an unreasoning outburst of proletarian desire. It may be that, but it is certainly much more than that. It is not merely a practical movement towards reform; it is also an intellectual movement, and it is supported by a body of educated opinion which can be dealt with only as educated opinion should always be dealt with, that is,

[1] *C.Q.R.* January 1908.

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by clear thinking and a precise analysis of conceptions. Socialism is the one political movement of our day which has made a serious attempt to establish itself upon a philosophical basis. It sets before us a distinctive conception of human society, one which implies a distinctive view of human nature and of human duty and brings us within sight of the ultimate problems of thought. This conception we believe to be erroneous, but it is not puerile, and it cannot be set aside by the confusions of popular rhetoric and the crudities of popular journalism. A mistaken philosophy of society can be refuted only by a true philosophy. Our criticism of Socialism must be, in the first place, a philosophical criticism.

It is true we may not stay among the lucid abstractions of philosophy. If we are to be politically effective we must use a language 'understanded of the people,' we must express our thought in the 'common-sense' vocabulary of the plain man. But, unless we have first undertaken the preliminary labour of making our thought as nearly as may be accurate and complete, our attempt to use the plain man's speech will but increase unprofitable confusion.

Within the last few months there has been a vigorous anti-Socialist campaign in the popular Press and on the popular platform. The intention has doubtless been excellent; the result has undoubtedly been otherwise. A certain number of 'moderate men'—'men without convictions,' as Lord Beaconsfield once said—have changed sides, but has one genuine Socialist been converted? Has anything been achieved against the conceptions fundamental in our English Socialist thought? An affirmative answer to either of these questions would, as theologians say, be temerarious. The failure is patent, and the explanation of it is close at hand. The campaigners have been well-intentioned but not well-equipped; they have not reached the root of the controversy.[1] They have

[1] Mr. Blatchford's exaggerations convey a wholesome and needed lesson. 'Through sheer ignorance the great Tory attack on Socialism . . . has failed. It was so ill-conceived, so ill-directed, that its failure was foredoomed.'—*Daily Mail*, February 7, 1908.

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failed because they have neither undertaken for themselves the preliminary labour of precise analysis, nor learnt from those who have undertaken it.

Our national inclination against what is called 'abstract thought' has, we believe, an admirable side; but its utility has limits, and those limits have now been reached. The political questions now before us raise the ultimate problems of individual and social life, and, as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has clearly shewn, those questions cannot be helpfully answered without abstract thought — without an earnest attempt to reach clearly defined principles and ideals. To-day, the philosophy of politics, although it necessarily remains abstract in expression and academic in method, is of the greatest practical importance.

If, then, we are to refute Socialism, we must begin to *think*. Socialism derives its intellectual strength and no small part of its ethical attractiveness from a certain conception of human society. That conception is quite untouched by rhetoric about atheism and free love, nor is it made one whit less credible by the undoubted fact that Communists in Paris and Anabaptists in Münster were guilty of excesses. The Socialist conception of society is a philosophical conception, and we can overcome it only by the recognized methods of philosophy—by precise analysis and counter-construction. The Socialist movement, indeed, does not arise out of that conception, but it is guided by that conception, and in so far as it is dangerous, it is dangerous principally because of that conception.

It follows that any thorough criticism of Socialism must include a criticism of the Socialist idea of society. A criticism which ignores this misses the very centre of controversy: a critic who does not recognize that this conception is distinctively a philosophical one is foredoomed to failure.

In our last article some attempt was made to deal with this conception and to indicate the foundations of a better philosophy. The argument of that article was, intentionally and of necessity, academic, for it was an argument in

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political philosophy, not in 'practical politics.' Therefore it ignored one fact which some appear to think of first importance—the fact, namely, that the movement towards Socialism and towards a policy which involves or points to Socialism is one of the strongest forces in contemporary political life. That fact was rightly ignored, because it was then irrelevant. We were then virtually asking, 'What is the true conception of the social organism?' and we were rightly concerned only with the intrinsic merits of alternative answers. Those merits are not in the least affected by the fact that one of the alternatives has a greater number of advocates than the other. In such an enquiry we do not and cannot derive any help from the ballot-box.

The fact, however, which was then irrelevant, is now of primary importance; for we have now to formulate, not an alternative *philosophy*, but an alternative *policy*—not alternative conceptions for thought, but alternative precepts for conduct. Clearly, it would be waste of time to attempt this if the movement towards Socialism were already irresistible.

Now, that movement is undoubtedly very strong. Those who really hold the fully developed doctrine of Socialism constitute as yet a small minority, but Socialist conceptions have penetrated everywhere, and no political party is untouched by them. The cause of this is a complex one, but two factors in it are conspicuous. Socialism is strong because necessary reforms have been too long delayed; Socialist conceptions are widespread because those who should have been the leaders of political thought have failed in their duty and have been content to be merely the leaders of political parties.

Necessary reforms, we say, have been too long delayed. We urged, in our last article, that Socialism is in its essentials a form of Humanism. Men are re-discovering themselves —are discovering the unique value of human personality. Those who have hitherto been used as though they were mere tools are claiming, and rightly claiming, to be more than tools—are claiming, and rightly claiming, to be *ends*,

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and not mere *instruments*. They have learnt that man is greater than his industry, greater even than laws and institutions. They have become conscious of need, of need for a larger, fuller life, and they will not rest content until they have in some sufficient way satisfied that need.

The human spirit is the greatest thing on earth. Our secular laws, usages and institutions are its creations and are all subordinate to its developing life. When they cease to be adequate instruments and expressions of its life, it will (if unhindered) change them peacefully, for they are all plastic to it; if it be obstructed, it will change them violently. When reform is too long delayed revolution becomes imminent, and if it approach in unlovely guise, as it usually does, those who have delayed to reform and those who have obstructed reform have only themselves to thank.

No one can pretend that the condition of England is quite healthy. Were anyone so audacious as to make that pretence, salient and widely mischievous facts would immediately and conclusively contradict him. Our sweated labour, our unemployed and our unemployables, our wretchedly defective education[1]—these alone are sufficient to prevent or to correct such an extravagance of optimism. No one with a mind capable of thought or a heart capable of feeling can honestly say that England and English life are to-day what they should be.

We have, it is true, reformed many things, but our reforms have too often been the reforms, not of earnest thinkers and workers but of mere politicians—of men glad to do little if they can seem to do much. We have talked much of social evils, but we have not ventured to the roots of those evils. Indeed, we have often turned our eyes from the roots, and have intentionally preferred palliatives to remedies. It is not in the least surprising that discontent has outstripped our lukewarmness, and has passionately committed itself to the only policy which promises a radical change. That policy is, indeed, a mistaken one, but who is to blame if people accept it as their

[1] Cf. *Lonewood Corner*, by John Halsham (Smith, Elder & Co.).

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one hope of secular salvation? The answer is clear. They are to blame who have not propounded a better policy.

In the contemptible faction-fight of parties and the paltry child's-play of Parliamentary dialectic we have lost the true conception of political leadership. A political party should live by ideas and ideals; its leader should be the unwearied missionary of those ideas and ideals. He has done but the least important part of his work when, by dexterous navigation before the ever-shifting winds of popular feeling, he has brought his party into power. His chief work—the only work that gives real dignity to his office—is to mould the nation's thought rightly and to guide its purpose worthily. By steadfast character, by helpful industry, by words that breathe the quickening energy of a better life, he should become 'the pillar of a people's hope,' and it should be his to make that hope intelligent and noble. How completely we have lost sight of this ideal of leadership let the years that have passed since Mr. Gladstone's prime bear witness. The theme is one for a Carlyle or a Samuel Butler. At present we have no leaders. We are drifting, and men think it sufficient if our drift be illuminated by an occasional epigram.

Why has Socialism become so strong? Partly because reforms have been inadequate and too long delayed; partly because political leadership has been degraded by neglect of its moral vocation. It is not, however, too late to amend our ways. Socialism is not yet irresistible; but, if it is to be opposed successfully, there must be far-reaching and deep-reaching changes. We must begin to *think* and to *work*. The Socialist movement in thought must be met by a counter-movement in thought, the Socialist policy by an alternative and better policy. The false conception of society which so widely influences Socialist thought must be met by the true conception. We must revive our national tradition of freedom, our national ideal of free manhood in a free community. We must exhibit the ethical obligations, the ethical possibilities, of that tradition, and make these the foundation of a new patriotism—one which is not mere self-assertion, but a generous devotion

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to the commonweal, a patriotism that will not rest content until English industry be made completely helpful to English life, until our great inheritance of thought and feeling become the patrimony not of a few but of all, until the unsetting sun of a better day bring healthful light into every dark place and all the exiled and oppressed know that their exile and bondage are ended.[1] This new patriotism is indeed an ideal, but it is near at hand, not far-off, and we can (if we will) make it the secular salvation of our English life—if only each one of the plain folk to whom this quickening vision of a better England has come will think and work in his own place according to his opportunity and to the best powers of his manhood.

II.

We conclude, then, that the situation is not hopeless, that it is not waste of time to formulate the principles of a Renaissance which will not be socialistic. But so soon as we begin to think of formulating them this question naturally arises: Has not the Christian religion some pertinent message?

Early in the present year Mr. James Adderley and other priests joined with the Rev. R. J. Campbell and others in the following declaration:

'We, the undersigned ministers of Christian Churches of various denominations, desire to make this declaration in view of the widely circulated suggestion, which has been made in the Press and elsewhere, that the Socialism we believe in differs fundamentally from the Socialism advocated by the recognized Socialist organizations.

'We declare that the Socialism we believe in (sometimes called "Christian Socialism") involves the public ownership and management of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and is therefore essentially the same Socialism as that which is held by Socialists throughout the world.

'Our Socialism is not less earnest nor less complete because it is inspired by our Christianity. The central teaching of

[1] *Cf.* Hakluyt Egerton, *Patriotism*, c. vi., 'The National Ideal' (George Allen).

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Socialism is a matter of economics, and may therefore be advocated by all men, whether they be Christians or unbelievers; yet we feel, as ministers of the Christian faith, that this economic doctrine is in perfect harmony with our faith, and we believe that its advocacy is sanctioned and required of us by the implications of our religion.'

Hitherto some of us have believed Christian Socialism to be an independent form of Socialist teaching—one taking its distinctive character, not from secular philosophy or from economics but from Christian institutions and precepts. We know that God is our Father and that all men are brethren, that the sovereign law for the Christian life is the law of a love that seeketh not its own, and we know too that the Christian religion is a social religion, is the religion of a living society characterized by social worship, by social sacraments and by social duties. We know all these things, and from these things we have formed an ideal of helpful fraternity and co-operation which we supposed to be the distinctive note of the Socialism that is called 'Christian.' Apparently we were wrong. If some there be who hold to this ideal and think it Socialist, Mr. Adderley and his friends do not. *Their* Socialism is merely State-Socialism of the ordinary kind—the State-Socialism of Mr. Keir Hardie and Mr. Blatchford, a Socialism with nothing distinctively Christian about it.

Now, in a sense, we agree with the declarants. We believe that 'public ownership and management of the means of production, distribution, and exchange' is a distinctive note of whatever is properly called Socialism. We do *not* believe that the fraternal conceptions of the Christian religion and the Christian life are sufficient to constitute Socialism, and we are convinced that those Christians who call themselves Socialists merely because they are labouring to realize the Christian ideal of brotherhood are authors or abettors of a most mischievous confusion.[1] For all practical purposes Socialism must be

[1] The Bishop of Stepney's Septuagesima sermon at St. Paul's seems to make him a party to this confusion.

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understood to mean State-Socialism of the kind indicated by the declarants. A man who does not hold this form of Socialism should not call himself a Socialist. There may be academic reasons sufficient to warrant his use of the name, but, if he acts upon them, he will confuse the minds of plain men and will find himself involved in a policy to which he does not assent.

Thus far, then, we agree with the declarants. Socialism —of the kind now practically important—*does* imply 'public ownership and management.' But why do they advocate this form of Socialism? The advocacy of it is, they tell us, sanctioned and required of them *by the implications of their religion.*

Their religion? What is the common belief that enables Mr. Adderley and Mr. Campbell to speak of 'our religion'? Apparently, a belief in the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man and the Christian ideal of love. This common religion, we are told, sanctions the advocacy of 'the public ownership and management of the means of production, distribution, and exchange.' Clearly, if that sanction be anywhere given, it is given by the Christian conception of a fraternal society knit together by love. But does that conception in fact sanction the Socialism defined by the declarants? We are certain that it does not.

It may be noted at the outset that the great rule of Christian living is not expressly a doctrine of rights. The law of love tells us how we should use the things that are our own; it does not define those things; it does not tell us what things we can properly call our own. But it does not follow from this that the conception of rights is non-Christian. What do we mean by 'rights'? We sometimes say that a man has a *right* to whatever the law permits him to possess or enjoy—the landlord to his rent, the labourer to his wage. Of such 'rights' some, at least, are essentially creations of the law, for they have no discoverable ground ulterior to the law which sustains them. But, as we saw in our last article, besides such merely legal rights, there are others—rights to opportunity, rights

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to property—which are grounded in the very nature of man. These rights are universal, and, therefore, they do not give one man lordship over another. Rather are they an assertion of the essential equality of all men, for the human nature which is their ground is the same in all men, and in all men as equally a ground of equal rights. They are, thus, an assertion of what has elsewhere been called 'the primacy of the individual.'

Now, the Christian religion, more clearly than any other, attributes an unique value to each and every individual soul. This uniqueness is the religious counterpart of the political and ethical uniqueness we inferred from our doctrine of rights. In the one case as in the other, the unique value, the primacy, of the individual man is a consequence of the constitution of his nature—of the fact that he is essentially a personal spirit with an unique experience and vocation.

This unique value of the individual life, this primacy of the individual, is equally implied by the characteristic conceptions of Christian ethics. The precept to love our neighbour as ourselves implies that, in spiritual value, all men are equal. This equality is not arbitrary; it has its ground in that spiritual nature which, as we saw, is the same in all men; it is precisely the equality affirmed by our doctrine of rights. And, when the law of love is developed into the conception of a perfectly fraternal society, the same implication is apparent; for brotherhood implies an essential equality which excludes lordship or mastery. Although, then, the Christian rule of life is not an assertion of rights, it pre-supposes that equality of spiritual value which, in the sphere of political thought, inevitably finds expression in a doctrine of rights.

It seems clear that the principles of the Christian religion are quite inconsistent with those forms of Socialism which either ignore rights or regard all the rights of all individuals as merely derivative. The Christian religion is a religion of the 'primacy of the individual.'

We do not suppose that Mr. Adderley and his friends intend to affirm a Socialism which in either of these ways

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is radically inconsistent with their faith. What, then, do they mean? They tell us that their religion sanctions and requires the advocacy of a certain doctrine of public ownership which they describe as economic. It seems probable that they suppose 'production, distribution, and exchange' to be 'social functions' and believe public ownership to be the corollary of that supposed fact.

For the sake of simplicity we will confine our argument to 'production.' It is undeniable that, in a sense, production *is* a social function, *viz.*, in the sense that it is the work of men living together in society and is subject to conditions which may fairly be described as social conditions. But does this logically infer public ownership, *i.e.* State-ownership? We think not.

The fact that production is a social function could be held to infer public ownership only if 'society' were regarded as the real agent in production. But, as has been pointed out,[1] such a view would involve a radical misunderstanding of the nature of society. Human society is always and only an association of individuals; the only agency active in what are called 'social functions' is the agency of individuals; the only needs and ends subserved by production are needs and ends of individuals. It is true that certain of those needs and ends are ordinarily called social, but (as we have already seen) those social needs and ends are always needs and ends of and for individuals. We have seen, also, that the right to property—which is merely another name for the right of ownership—is essentially an individual right, for it is the expression of the ultimate human right to life and to valuable forms of life. This ultimate right is clearly an individual right, for society has no life that is not the life of individuals—it exists, as we saw, only in and through individuals—and has no experience of values which is not the experience of individuals.

The fact, then, that production is a social function or, in other words, is carried on (subject to social conditions) by men who live together in society, does not warrant an immediate inference to State-ownership. It may, however,

[1] *C.Q.R.* January 1908, pp. 372 ff, 375 ff.

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be said that the inference to State-ownership is not an immediate but a mediate inference. For instance, we are not infrequently confronted with an argument which can be developed into the following form :—

(1) Production is always production by individuals.

(2) The right to the produce of industry is always a right of individuals.

(3) The complexity of modern industry is, however, so great that the share of each individual worker in the things he helps to produce cannot be separately assigned.

(4) Therefore, for practical purposes, the right to the produce of labour cannot usefully be stated otherwise than as a right of all the producers to all that they produce.

(5) State-ownership is the only effectual way of expressing and safe-guarding this aggregation of inseparable rights.

On the other hand, we find State-ownership advocated primarily as a means of relieving industry from the pressure of certain undesirable conditions, and of thus, and also in other ways, attaining certain desired moral ends.

Let us accept the statement that the complexity of modern industry is so great that the right of the individual worker cannot be separately appraised. Does this logically entail State-ownership? We think not. Although, *ex hypothesi*, a worker's right cannot be separately appraised, it remains *his* right, and not another's—not the State's, not Society's. The right of ownership is precisely co-extensive with productive activity. There cannot be a right of ownership where there is not some productive efficiency; for that right is the correlate of that efficiency. Now, however complex be the processes of modern production, the productive group engaged in any given work is never co-extensive with the nation.[1] Therefore, to make society the universal owner would be to extend ownership far

[1] A magazine, for instance, is the product of a few thinkers and workers. Even if we include the printers and paper-makers, the productive group remains a small one.

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beyond the facts which are the rational and moral ground of ownership. It would be to establish an ownership without either economic or moral foundations, and therefore without either economic or moral limitations.[1]

We may however be asked—Is not production to-day characteristically production for exchange, and are not exchange-values regulated by the general life of society, by the social life as a whole? There need not be the least reluctance to answer these questions affirmatively. Modern production *is* characteristically production for exchange, and the conditions which govern the exchange-values of commodities are so numerous that those values may not improperly be thought of as resultants of the general life. For instance, the difference between the exchange-value of a popular novel and the exchange-value of a book on metaphysics cannot be explained by anything less than the history of the English people. But what has this to do with ownership? A thing is not subject to ownership because it has exchange-value, but because it is a *production*. If a thing be a production it is *property*, even though it be valueless.

The exchange-value of a thing is the measure of what men are willing to give for it. But 'willingness to give' is not a productive activity, and hence it cannot be the basis of ownership. Therefore, the fact that exchange-values are governed by the general life of society cannot be made the basis of public ownership.

We saw in our former article that modern production is characteristically a complex production for exchange, and that the exchange-value of a given product is properly divisible among the several producers in proportion to the exchange-values of their several contributed 'efficiencies'—in other words, in proportion to the exchange-values of their several shares in the production. We may, indeed, say (if we will) that the members of each productive group

[1] A pretended right which is without either economic or moral foundations cannot be anything but a brigand's right; a general State-ownership, without either economic or moral limitations, could easily become a wasteful and corrupting tyranny.

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are partners in a common work, and that each partner's right in the produce of that common work is defined by the relative value of his participation in that work.

It seems clear that if this principle were adopted and carried into effect, the organization of industry would remain competitive; for exchange-values are the expression of a 'willingness to give,' and only through competition can that willingness be fully expressed.

Now, the idea of competition has no longer the hold on English thought which once it had. Men now say that competition implies a poor conception of the social order and of individual life, and is inconsistent with the higher forms of social unity. Above all, they urge that the competitive regulation of wages necessarily tends towards oppression and degradation. Therefore, they would substitute co-operation for competition, and they advocate State-ownership as the best or only way of making the substitution. We will not say one word against co-operation, for co-operation, in its most complete form, is the Christian ideal for society and for industry. The Christian rule of life is a rule of love, and, were this rule universally and fully carried out, our social order would become complete in a perfect brotherhood. Therein no one would labour selfishly or enjoy selfishly, or would seek gain through another's loss; no lives would be merely tributary and none privileged, save for larger service; work would be truly a common interest, and the produce of work a common treasure.

Unfortunately, even Christian men as yet give to this rule only a partial and ineffectual obedience. At present, our politics and policies, even when nominally Christian, are scarcely more than *nominally* Christian. Unjust privilege and the many forms of selfishness and aggression are well-nigh universal, and well-nigh universally predominant. It would be trifling with words to pretend that either our political or our industrial or our social life is Christian. Even our religious life, in the mass, is a feeble thing.

And, yet, the remedy is ever present in Christ—in Christ the power of God, in Christ the wisdom of God—and one day His salvation will be made complete. Mean-

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while He calls us, who bear His name, to be His fellow-labourers, and we answer Him—how? *Circumspice.* Let the misery we could prevent and do not, the wrong that we could right and dare not, the sin to which we take no message of repentance—let these give the answer.

Yet to some of us, as we stand beneath the Cross, there comes a vision of other things. We see the Church sincerely missionary—no longer fettered to the poor idols of this world's useless worship, no longer indulgent of the sinful rich because they are rich, no longer timorous of those in high place, but made free by its Divine vocation, and fearlessly strong by the power of its Divine life. We see this Church essaying, in singleness of mind, the chivalrous adventure of charity, taking new life to the broken and feeble, and new hope to those that are out of the way; gathering men together to stainless industry, building them up into the completeness of love's matchless life. For a moment we see the vision, and then it fades, and we find ourselves once more in the world that witnesses to our failure—in the world we should save, but do not save.

Co-operation made complete, through love, in a perfect brotherhood—this is the Christian ideal for human industry. And this Christian ideal is also our secular ideal, for the world's secular life is a spiritual process and becomes complete only as the human spirit becomes complete, that is in and through love. Human nature has not two ideals, but only one. That ideal is the Christian ideal, and it sets before us, not merely the completeness of man's religious life but the completeness of that age-long development which has shaped his secular industry and polities, and has already established in Patriotism the foundations of brotherhood.

Suppose now that ideal society to become actual, either by some religious transformation of the world or by the slow progress of man's secular development. What would be the nature of its unity? Clearly, its unity would be a spiritual unity, exhibited (it may be) in laws and institutions, but not constituted thereby. Its members would be knit together in love, and that unifying love would be the characteristic bond of their social unity. Towards such

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an unity we have already taken more than the first steps. Every existing society is imperfect, but, in so far as any society is truly a society, it is such in and through some spiritual synthesis, some growing together of individual lives through various forms of sympathy, interest, and co-operation. We often say, and rightly say, that the true unity of society is constituted by the social consciousness; but the social consciousness is little if anything more than a convenient name for the spiritual synthesis we have just mentioned. Because our present imperfect societies are thus essentially spiritual, and because the process which has built them up has its rational end in the life of love, our present poor result is the promise of a final consummating achievement.

But how can we draw nearer to this? Clearly, by fostering the growth of a new, or fraternal, social consciousness. Would this growth be fostered by 'the public ownership and management of the means of production, distribution, and exchange'? We are confident that it would not be.

The moral life of man is characteristically a development. Our moral qualities are *acquired* qualities. We are not born with them, nor were they an original endowment of our race. The potency, the possibility, of them is indeed original within us, but the qualities themselves appear only as that original possibility develops, only (to use a scholastic phrase) as *potency* passes into *act*. Now, the possibilities of human nature are developed by the promptings of need and the invitation of opportunity. Need impels man to action, and opportunity, appealing to silent capacities, invites him to action, and in and through action his character is developed and built up. We cannot separate man's ethical development from his practical life, for of that life it is the correlate. Moved by need and invited by opportunity, man establishes usages and creates institutions, and with this secular achievement his ethical progress is concomitant. As the needs and interest of life create 'organic filaments' which knit men together in a social order as in a living organism, a social consciousness develops, but this consciousness takes its character and

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content from the society within which it develops and of which it is the unifying bond. There cannot be a fraternal social consciousness, nor a fraternal character, in a non-fraternal society. Here and there, in individual hearts and minds, there may, indeed, be fraternal hopes and thoughts, for human nature has possibilities which become apparent in thoughts and aspirations before they are developed into character. But, even though such thoughts and hopes be present, the temper and habit of brotherliness cannot be formed unless there be opportunity within the social order for brotherly practice.

The social order built up by man's pursuit of his various interests is, as it were, the framework within which his ethical life develops. His practical interests associate him variously with his fellows, and this multiform association receives permanent expression in usages and institutions, in a custom and a polity. But within the heart and mind of man this practical association has other and yet more important results, for it creates a genuinely common life, interests that are truly common interests, thoughts and feelings which transform his practical association with his fellows into an organic and vital union with them. This common life, these common interests, these unifying thoughts and feelings, are at once the source and the content of the social consciousness. This consciousness is not something independent and unchanging. It arises out of the social order; it changes as the social order changes. Our present society is founded upon individual ownership and individual management. It is far from perfection, but within it we have built up a valuable moral tradition and a character hopefully serviceable. A general transition to State-ownership and State-management would destroy the social and industrial order which is, as it were, the 'physical basis' of our moral life. It is said that the new order would be a better basis. We believe it would be a worse.

It is not as though we had yet achieved a general and fully-developed national consciousness—one wherein men knew themselves to be, not merely equal citizens within one national polity but also, in and through their citizenship,

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members one of another. We have indeed achieved a certain kind of national consciousness, but in most men that consciousness hardly rises above the assertion of rights, and does not yet include that recognition of the moral obligation of mutual service which *is* the characteristic note of brotherhood, and *should be* of citizenship. To the great majority the State would be not a living brotherhood sustained by mutual service, by individual effort and loyalty, but an 'universal provider' from whom clamorous votes could extort one thing after another.

It will, however, be said that a better mind would gradually develop. We believe that this would be the case, but in spite of State-ownership and State-management, not because of these. Corporate consciousness is the correlate of conscious participation in a common life. It cannot arise unless men feel themselves to be, in some sufficient sense and degree, members one of another—fellow workers, knit together by common interests and common sympathies. We find such a consciousness in the family, in the local community, in the industrial group. We find it also in the nation; but, in so far as it is there more than a consciousness of rights, it arises chiefly out of the consciousness and habit of fellowship developed in subordinate forms of association. A nation is not an association of individuals who but for the national bond would be separate. It is a *consociatio consociationum*; for the individuals constituent in it are variously knit together in minor groups and societies, and these minor groups and societies are all included within the living unity of the national organism. It is in these minor groups that men first recognize their dependence one upon another, and become aware of social duties, of fellowship in a common life. Now, the social consciousness which is the unity of each of these minor groups has always economic conditions, an economic ground; for it has arisen out of certain common interests and activities which are at least in part industrial, and in so far as those interests and activities are industrial they receive their form from our present system of private ownership and management. In the local community and the industrial group it is quite

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clear that the social consciousness has economic foundations or conditions, and that these are what they are because our present industrial system is what it is, a system of private, not public, ownership and management. The family, indeed, we often think of as, in some special sense, a spiritual unity; but even family life has economic conditions, for the family is a group of persons who have, in the first place, to *live*, and this brings into family life important practical interests and activities which are immediately governed by the primary facts of our industrial system. It is partly through fellowship in those interests and activities—sometimes through common hope and common achievement, sometimes through common suffering and mutual solace and encouragement—that husband and wife become truly one.

Now, the introduction of general State-ownership and State-management would destroy the economic foundations of every minor form of social consciousness, and men, not having yet learnt that the State is only themselves, would lose their consciousness of mutual dependence and individual responsibility. A general dependence upon the State—upon the State not yet known to be merely the organic unity of the dependent individuals—would result in an almost general indifference; men would no longer feel themselves to be members one of another through community of interest and work, for the universal providence of the State would obscure the dependence of the commonwealth upon individual effort and mutual loyalty. The consciousness of brotherhood would not be strengthened; rather would it be perilously weakened and impoverished.

Certain Socialist thinkers so clearly perceive the mischief which would arise from the immediate introduction of State-ownership and State-management that they would postpone the change until some indefinitely remote time when the national consciousness will be much more developed and much more effectual in the control of conduct. The Socialism which now confronts us in English politics seems, however, to ignore the need for this moral preparation,

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and to advocate the socialization of production and distribution as rapidly as 'practical politics' permits.

III.

We are constrained to reject, without reservation, the plea for a Christian Socialism based upon a general State-ownership and State-management. Has, then, the Christian religion no message pertinent to the present distress? It has, for it bids us love one another; and the love to which it calls us is not a sentiment, but a service.

We speak much of the Social Mission of the Church and the duties which that Mission creates; but we do not always clearly recognize that those duties are immediately incumbent, not upon societies and officials but upon *each one of us*. We, in union with our Lord, *are* the Church, and immediately to us pertain the duties of the Society we thus constitute. We, in union with our Lord, *are* the Church, and if the Church be ineffective, it is because we are ourselves ineffective; because our religion is not deep enough, our faith not strong enough; because our membership in the Church is so poor a thing and means so little to us. Did it mean a perpetually renewed consecration of life's highest powers to life's highest work—did it mean to each one of us a daily apprehension of God's renewing love, a daily 'laying hold on eternal life,' how different the world would soon become!

What, then, does our religion require us to do? It requires us to live a life of unreserved love—of love carried up to and beyond the point at which begins what the world calls 'self-sacrifice.' We draw fine distinctions in order to prove that certain hard sayings of our new law are not immediately imperative, and it may be that we are sometimes right; but this casuistry too often obscures the indubitable fact that the Christian ideal of life is quite other than the ideal of even philanthropic worldliness. The distinctive note of that ideal is the complete consecration of life and means to the missionary work of love. Life and means are, as it were, instruments to be used in love in

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order to make men loving—in order to establish and extend the Kingdom of Love.[1]

It would be impossible within the limits of this article to develop this rule into a code of social duties, but certain important consequences of it seem obvious.

(1) We are required to give *direct personal service.* The rule of love is not satisfied when we have made a donation or joined a society. We have to give *ourselves* and all that we can helpfully be and do.

(2) Whenever any occupation, whether domestic or industrial, is under Christian control, it should be a healthily conditioned *interest,* and not an unhealthily conditioned drudgery.

(3) No Christian man should be a slum-owner,[2] or should employ 'sweated labour,' or use the products of such labour, or derive income from such labour. If a Christian man be a landowner, he should remember that the best harvest is a human harvest; that land is misused unless it be as largely as possible productive of healthy, serviceable manhood.

These things look simple—as simple as the prophet's word to Naaman—but were 'all who profess and call themselves Christians' to make them, in singleness of purpose, the guides of daily living, many things would soon be changed for the better. This could not be done without sacrifice, but the Christian life is a life of sacrifice, and, although we are under no obligation to be rich or even 'comfortable,' we are under a clear obligation to be brotherly, to love our neighbour as ourselves. Who can tell how great would be the effect if all Christian men were to make the great experiment of using their powers, their opportunities, their goods in self-denying love? In matters which are called

[1] There is in this ideal a certain note of austerity and renunciation quite inconsistent with that pleasant worldly prosperity which seems to-day to satisfy the aspirations of most religious people—provided an occasional subscription be paid, an occasional meeting attended.

[2] If he finds himself in possession of slum property he should not sell it but should do his best to improve it. His duty is to use his opportunities as fully and helpfully as possible. By sale he would merely turn his back upon his opportunities.

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'practical' that experiment has not yet been generally made. Does it not seem worth while to make it?

IV.

It will, however, be said that, if the Christian obligations do in fact constitute an alternative to Socialism, that alternative is a religious one; and the question will be asked: Is there not a political alternative? Has not the State a moral duty? If it has, and if State-Socialism be rejected, how can that duty be discharged?

These questions bring us face to face with a very important distinction—the distinction between the social organism (Society) and the government. This distinction is sometimes spoken of as a distinction between the Nation and the State, and it will tend to make our meaning clearer if we, at least provisionally, adopt that designation.

In our everyday speech we ordinarily use the words 'Nation' and 'State' as though they were synonymous. We know, indeed, that they are not so, and that 'the English Nation' has a meaning not quite identical with that of 'the English State'; but we make no attempt to define the difference between these terms, and ordinarily we ignore it. We speak as though National duties were necessarily State duties, and the resources of the Nation necessarily the resources of the State. We silently presume that the State is the one organ or instrument of the national will, and, misled by this presumption, we require the *State* to do or provide whatever we think the *Nation* ought to do or provide.

Now, both the Nation and the State are forms of social organization; but whereas the State is essentially a body politic, the Nation as such is not. As the present writer has elsewhere endeavoured to shew, the Nation is an ethical organism. It may indeed exist as a body politic, but, if it exist in that mode, that mode is not constitutive of its character as a Nation, nor does it express that character. A body politic is a body organized under one government for the purposes of government, and it necessarily possesses

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more or less of political independence. A National organism, however, is not a political but an ethical and psychological construct. It is unitary—in so far as it is so—not because subordinate to one coercive authority, but because knit together by a common life, by a real and felt community of interest, sympathy, and endeavour.

The Nation, we have said, is an ethical organism. It is a form of co-operative and consensual life and has no existence apart from the individuals through whose concordant wills and co-operant endeavours it exists. Moreover, each of the individuals thus associated is a *person*, with an ethical character and vocation which make him, within limits, autonomous, and give to him rights that are independent, imprescriptible, and sovereign. Nowhere in the world is there anything that can lawfully claim to be essentially prior in right. His fellows are ethically his peers; and the various societies which he and they build up, although real and valuable, subsist only in him and them, and have neither separate existence nor independent rights. Society is always resultant and subordinate—resultant from individual lives; subordinate to the ends of individual lives. It is this subordination to the ethical ends of individuals which makes the nation an ethical organism.

Let us now ask—What is the State? The State is the Government[1]; its characteristic acts are legislative; its essential power is coercive. Speaking with rough but sufficient accuracy, we may say that nearly all Governments came into being as forms imposed, by the accidents of history, upon the 'natural' societies, the living social organisms, constituted by community in interest and work. In many cases—as, for example, in the despotisms of the Italian Renaissance—the extrinsic character of the State-organization has been clearly apparent. Political progress, however, overcomes this historical 'separateness' of the State by incorporating it more and more completely with the National organism. As this incorporation proceeds,

[1] It would be more accurate though, unfortunately, less widely intelligible to say that a State is the form of a body politic.

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the coercive power of the State becomes instrumental to the ethical life of the developing national organism, and subordinate to the ethical end which is the ideal of that life.

Yet, even after this incorporation has commenced, the distinction between the Nation and the State remains, and remains important. We have, on the one hand, the growing national organism which is developing towards freedom —towards the free co-operation of free individuals fraternally knit together in sympathy, interest, and work. On the other hand, we have the State-machinery which makes laws and imposes penalties, and rules (in the last resort) by force. So long as this machinery is subordinate to ends which are merely personal or dynastic, it belongs to that archaic order of history which (for the sake of indicating a broad contrast) we roughly call 'unmoralized.' In proportion, however, as the State-machinery becomes incorporated with the National organism it becomes subordinate to the ends for which that organism exists, to the idea of personal freedom made complete in a fraternal social life. Only when and in so far as thus subordinate is government rational.[1]

V.

We are now in a position to formulate the principles of a constructive policy preferably alternative to Socialism.

(1) *By the constitution of human nature, all men are spiritually equal. This essential equality is the basis of rights, and these are always the rights of individuals, original in them and not derivative from Society or the State.*

The rights attributed to Society or the State are all derivative from, and subordinate to, the rights of individuals. For instance, in education the State has no rights which are not thus derivative and subordinate.[2]

[1] These paragraphs are founded upon an article entitled 'Individualism and the State' which appeared in *The Individualist* and has since been separately re-published.

[2] For a detailed demonstration of this see *A Plea for Church Schools* (George Allen & Sons).

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(2) *The essential right of the individual is a right to opportunity—to an opportunity which, from various points of view, may be variously defined as an opportunity to achieve valuable forms of life, or as an opportunity for spiritual development (self-realization), or for following man's moral vocation.*

This right, because a right to opportunity, cannot be the basis of a claim upon Society or the State for more than opportunity. It cannot be the basis of a claim for State-provision of a kind which supersedes or weakens individual initiative or individual responsibility—*e.g.* for the provision of free breakfasts or gratuitous pensions.

(3) *The right of property is a right to the products of human industry. No one can have (except by gift, inheritance, or contract) a right of property in things that he has not himself produced or helped to produce.*

It is clear, then, that no one can have a right of property in natural products—for instance, in land, in minerals, or in water-power. All such things are a general endowment. Individuals have indeed what are ordinarily said to be 'rights' in these things. These rights, however, are not ultimate and are not rights of property. They are creations of the law, and are therefore terminable by law. The general recognition which they have received constitutes, however, the ground of an ethical claim which is valid against policies of mere confiscation.

The general right—the common right of Society—over natural products seems best definable as a right of lordship, not of property.[1] Within this general lordship fall the values that accrue to natural products—*e.g.*, to urban land —from the general life of Society. These values are not property. Whatever individual rights in them be alleged, those alleged rights are secondary rights of enjoyment, not rights of property. They are essentially creations of the law, and, because such, they are terminable by law.

(4) *The social organism—the Nation—is an instrument*

[1] The right of lordship, however, should not be exercised wastefully. The duty to use natural resources carefully is an inference from the general duty to live socially and from the parental duty towards children.

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of man's spiritual development. It is subordinate to the individuals who constitute it, and should give full opportunity for each individual life.[1]

This principle follows immediately from the conception that the social organism is characteristically a moral organism. It is the fundamental principle of Reform. It will be noticed that Society is not to do things for the individual, but is to give him a real opportunity of doing them for himself.

(5) ***The primary domestic duty of the Government is to secure individual rights. Those rights, we have seen, are ultimately a right to a certain kind of opportunity.***

Therefore it is no part of the duty of the Government to provide gratuitous (non-contributory) old-age pensions. It is, however, under an imperative obligation to do what it can to secure to each individual a sufficient opportunity to make adequate provision for his old age.

We may say, if we will, that the primary domestic duty of the Government is to secure individual freedom. The formula sounds austere, but in reality it is generous, for 'freedom' means 'opportunity to achieve valuable forms of life.' This principle gives the Government certain limited but important powers to regulate industry.

(*a*) It should protect employers from the tyranny of organized 'labour,' and 'labour' from the tyranny of employers.

(*b*) It may properly secure to the workman compensation for accidents, but this principle will not warrant State-intervention to secure compensation for accidents brought about by a workman's negligence or drunkenness.

(*c*) It may protect the workman from protracted hours of labour and from unnecessarily dangerous or unhealthy conditions of labour, and it may properly intervene to prevent the unjust division between 'capital' and 'labour' of the profits of industry.[2]

[1] Cf. *Patriotism*, chap. ii. 'The Nation as a Moral Organism,' and chap. vi. 'The National Ideal' (George Allen).

[2] Mr. Balfour has propounded 'increase of production' as a remedy for the present discontent. But, unless the fruits of production be

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These powers are powers to secure real freedom. The exercise of them would, it is true, involve a limitation of the right of contract; but the moral basis of contract is in freedom. A contract into which a man enters by constraint—*e.g.* by the constraint of poverty—may rightly be revised. It hardly need be said that these powers of intervention should never be exercised in such a way as to supersede or weaken personal initiative or responsibility. Their true function is to secure conditions within which the moral personality has opportunity to develop freely and normally.

(6) *The Government may rightly act for the common good.*

(*a*) By the gradual incorporation of the 'State' with the 'Nation' the machinery of government becomes instrumental to the social consciousness, and therefore may rightly act for the common good. As the social consciousness develops, and men discover, more and more fully, their membership one in another, they form the conception of a healthy social life—a commonweal, a common good—which is genuinely a common interest and a common moral end.[1] The common good of which they thus conceive they naturally incline to seek by collective action. This warrants the Government acting for the common good, because, in so far as the 'State' is incorporated with the 'Nation,' the Government is an expression of the national unity, and the machinery of government is instrumental to the social consciousness.

This warrant, however, presupposes the social recognition of a common good; but it seems clear that a Government need not wait for that recognition. For the sake of the common good, the Government may rightly act for a common good which the social consciousness has not yet recognized.

equitably distributed, the discontent will remain—smouldering, if not flagrant.

[1] It should not be supposed that the common good is a separate kind of good. There is no common good that is not a good of and for individuals. Indeed, the common good is a 'good' only because it is good for individuals.

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(*b*) This principle of State-action covers important undertakings of public utility, such as the Indian and Egyptian irrigation works and the defence of the sea-coast against erosion. It is ordinarily said that such works may be rightly undertaken by the Government because they would not remunerate private enterprise, or because they are too important to be placed under private control. It seems, however, better to derive the right of State-intervention from the principle we have just defined. This principle covers also the provision and maintenance, by the national Government or by municipalities, of open spaces and of institutions, such as the British Museum or a corporation art gallery. Municipal enterprise of the latter kind seems a very valuable development of the social consciousness.

Again, the principle covers State-action to increase the numbers employed upon the land; for a largely productive rural economy, healthily sustaining a numerous population, is a common good of no mean kind.

It covers also the State-provision of suitable dwellings for the poor in town and country,[1] if such dwellings be not otherwise provided. It seems probable, however, that were the 'land question' dealt with sincerely and in accordance with the third of the principles we have defined, the housing difficulty would become very much smaller, if indeed it did not disappear.

(*c*) The principle covers also exceptional action by the State to meet exceptional needs. It covers, for instance, Poor-law relief, help for the unemployed, provision for necessitous old age. Poverty (of the kind met by our Poor-law) and lack of employment are abnormal. In a healthy community they would not exist, unless brought about by war or by natural calamities, and they are quite inconsistent with a social life which is truly a common good.

Unfortunately, however, they are characteristic of our

[1] This provision should not entail a charge upon the public revenues, either national or local, for such a charge would tend to make the provision either a demoralizing gift to 'labour' or a bounty to employers. For a similar reason workmen's fares should not be lowered below the point at which fares cease to be reasonably remunerative.

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present social order, and the Government may and should deal with them. It should afford present help, and should do what it can to prevent the recurrence of the need for help. We may say, indeed, that the latter duty is its primary duty, for help unaccompanied by remedies would almost inevitably become widely demoralizing. Those of the unemployed who are unemployable should, if possible, be made employable; but it seems probable that for such a renewal of our human wrecks spiritual agencies would prove the most effectual.

We have said that the State ought not to provide non-contributory old-age pensions. Unfortunately, however, our social order has denied to numbers the opportunity to which (in virtue of their humanity) they are entitled. Very many have not had the chance to become completely self-supporting. We may not deal with these as though they had had their chance and neglected or misused it. They have a valid claim to help, but that claim should not be made the basis of a policy wider than that claim. In this case also the State should give the help now needed and should prevent the recurrence of the need. The abnormal facts which call for exceptional action by the State furnish a wide field for the personal service of Christian men and women, and for other forms of private beneficence.

It should not be necessary to add that this principle of State-action for the common good does not warrant any action inconsistent with the other principles we have defined. The common good is a resultant conception, and cannot override the primary conceptions of right out of which it develops.

VI.

The principles formulated in the last section indicate a policy which has never been fairly tried. Their foundations in thought—the philosophical conceptions they presuppose—seem unassailable; they safeguard all that is most valuable in our national tradition of freedom and serviceable manhood; they would satisfy the moral aspirations which make Socialism attractive, and would remedy the discon-

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tent that makes it formidable; they seem to give full political expression to the great conceptions of the Christian life, to restore to politics its moral vocation, to give to Patriotism its noblest ideal. In our judgement, they indicate the true alternative to Socialism. If a name be required for the philosophy they presuppose and the policy to which they point, it would be difficult to find a better name than one which has already been suggested—Ethical Individualism.

HAKLUYT EGERTON.

ART. III.—THE PLEASANT LAND OF FRANCE.

The Pleasant Land of France. By ROWLAND E. PROTHERO, M.V.O. (London: John Murray, 1908.)
And many other works.

IN a long-forgotten volume now lying before us, written three-quarters of a century ago, we lighted on some highly amusing and withal sensible instruction on the art of travel and upon the way in which it should be orally or otherwise described. Half the charm of travel, says our author, consists in recalling its past memories; but to do this so as to kindle the imagination, satisfy the curiosity, and leave a pleasant impression on the reader is no easy task. The district to be visited should be thoroughly studied beforehand. Notes, brief and pointed, should be taken daily on the spot. The smallest incident may eventually have importance; for one cannot tell *en route* what may interest by the fireside. However uninviting the outward conditions, the intelligent traveller will never suffer from *ennui*. Historic scenes, popular superstitions, local anecdotes, the religious customs of the natives, their virtues and their vices, their dress, their prejudices, their industry, should all be recorded. The most unpromising companions will furnish opportunity for gathering information or for imparting it. In description it is details that please and give the air of truth—truth which the writer must scrupulously

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regard. Let him beware of the commonplace, and of too frequent moralizing. A ruin need not always suggest the vanity of mortal things, nor a glimpse of the sea the littleness of man, nor the rush of a torrent the rapid flight of time. Above all, let the traveller who depicts foreign lands and their inhabitants have ever in view the promotion of the material prosperity and the moral improvement of his own fellow countrymen.

Monsieur le Pasteur Emilien Frossard, whose prolix directions spread over half a score of pages we have thus briefly summarized, has a distinguished disciple in Mr. Rowland Prothero, whose fascinating book testifies to the variety of his learning and the breadth of his sympathies; whilst in his treatment of topics, grave and gay alike, we can discern the serious purpose which inspires his facile pen. *The Pleasant Land of France* is the alluring title of a collection of papers which range from airy essays on provincial France and French folklore to elaborate discussion of peasant farming and tenant right, from a rapid sketch of the historical associations of Fontainebleau to an exhaustive appreciation of Rabelais, and English verse translations of some modern French poets. It is needless to add that the discussion of the more serious subjects evinces that mastery of them which is only acquired by ample knowledge of their conditions matured in a well-furnished mind; whilst the lighter ones are handled with an easy grace and charm of style that are all the writer's own. *The Pleasant Land of France* is well calculated to further the *entente* and to make the genius and character of our neighbours more truly known.

Mr. Prothero's desire is by no means superfluous. Of the thousands of English-speaking people who visit France how small a proportion is really animated by a desire to understand its highly gifted population which presents so many contrasts to ourselves. There are lessons of deep national importance to be gathered from a study of French agriculture, which has passed through as many phases as there have been changes in the form of government and in the conditions of land tenure. There is an almost inex-

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haustible mine of interest in the historical remains, the chief examples of which are now carefully preserved at the charge of the State. They illustrate for us the several transformations and vicissitudes of a people whose annals are at once chequered and romantic to a degree unparalleled in any other country of modern Europe. With the wealth of ecclesiastical monuments of supreme excellence—Amiens, Rouen, Chartres, Rheims—within easy reach of Paris, and left unvisited, it is mournful to think of the crowds of English and American men and women who after a hasty sojourn in the French capital and a yawning stroll through the bleak emptiness of Versailles hurry on to devote themselves at Biarritz or on the Riviera to the exclusive pursuit of golf or of croquet. Perhaps no kingdom on the continent of Europe presents such variety of scenery as France. It includes within its boundaries the rocky coasts of Brittany and Normandy, and the sluggish, sultry shores of Provence and Languedoc; the soft, sylvan beauty that borders its splendid rivers, the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, the Rhone, and the terrific grandeur of the cradles in which the volcanoes of the Auvergne are sleeping peacefully; the unsullied and eternal snows of its Alpine and Pyrenean ranges and the rich burning plains of the Côte d'Or, of Dordogne and of Hérault, where purple the world's finest vintages.

Mr. Prothero's elaborate essay on French farming is of special value in view of the efforts of our own Government to bring the people back to the land. He effectually dispels the notion that to establish small holdings is a panacea for all agricultural difficulties. Arthur Young held that the charm of ownership would suffice to convert waste land into profitable occupation; Mr. Prothero shews that the indispensable requirements are far more intricate and complicated, and finds the success of French agriculture—the progress of which in the last hundred years has been amazing—to be due to its adaptation to these diversified conditions. In the light of his teaching we are tempted to suggest that a like variety of land tenure, in place of the uniform system which now obtains in Great Britain, might be equally ad-

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vantageous here. In France at any rate its results are astonishing. Hundreds of thousands of acres, formerly desolate and derelict, are now covered with productive crops, and large tracts are being reclaimed by the agency of great commercial companies aided by State subventions and loans. It is impossible to restrain a feeling of admiration tinged with envy as we contrast the advance of farming in France with its decline in England. It is not an unmixed advantage that 'the French peasant has extended his hold upon the land mainly at the expense of middle-sized estates, which are too large to be worked by the labour of the proprietor and his family, and become unprofitable if tilled by hired labour.' The elimination of this middle class and the glaring contrast of little holdings and large domains may become a serious danger. Already it has been found necessary to devise means for avoiding the excessive subdivision of the soil under the *partage forcé*; but its action has not been so disastrous as had been anticipated by some economists, and great estates for the most part remain intact. 'French landlords rarely have the bulk of their property in land, and family arrangements are easily effected amongst the rich.' How essentially diverse are the conditions of French and English farming, and how largely they contribute to the welfare or failure of peasant properties is explained in the following brief quotation:

'Variety is at once the charm and the solid advantage of France. It is by her diversities of soil and climate that her peasant proprietary thrives. By the same diversity she is protected against foreign competition or adverse seasons. As in England the relations of landlord and tenant farmer constitute practically the only system of land tenure, and corn-growing and cattle feeding her only agricultural industry, so her districts are purely agricultural or purely manufacturing. It is not so in France, and too much stress can hardly be laid on the contrast. On the one hand, her land tenures are more flexible and more elastic, and her modes of cultivation more diversified, so that all her eggs are not stored in a single basket; on the other hand, agriculture and manufacture are not separated into distinct districts. The squalid haunts of English trade are surrounded at the best by blackened wastes; in French Flanders

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dense population and high farming advance hand in hand. At the doors of factories, at the brink of coal pits, is some of the best cultivated land in the world, land which affords recreation and profit to thousands of artisans. The importance of this feature in its bearing on the happiness of the industrial population and on the alleged pulverisation of the ownership of French soil can hardly be exaggerated.' [1]

We cannot enter upon the numerous questions involved in the successful cultivation of the soil. Agricultural depression has prevailed in France as in other countries, and it is precisely the tenant farmer who has been the greatest sufferer. If his losses have not been so serious as they are on this side of the Straits of Dover, it is because large employers of French labour are content with a simpler style of living, and are never ashamed of the blouse and the sabot. A refuge from the storm of agricultural trouble has been found in France in the wide extension of the system of *métayage*—a system practically unknown in England—under which the landlord provides the land and most of the working capital, the remainder and all the labour being found by the tenant and the profit divided between them. This form of land tenure, which Arthur Young and John Stuart Mill strongly denounced, has proved so highly successful as to be greatly extended throughout the departments of the South. It has the advantage of uniting capital and labour, self-interest and intelligence. When the landlord is a skilful agriculturist, and can take the initiative, Mr. Prothero testifies that it has achieved wonders. 'It doubles the capital, entrusts to brains the direction of the enterprise, and supplies the incentive of self-interest to labour.' As the writer is himself practically acquainted with the difficulties of English farming, and is no mere theorist, *métayage* is surely worth a trial. It would be interesting if some millionaire philanthropist would adopt it on an English estate, and so help to solve a problem of national importance.

We have only space for the briefest reference to Mr. Prothero's dissertation on tenant right and agrarian outrage

[1] *The Pleasant Land of France*, pp. 30, 31.

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in France. Land-hunger alone has for centuries in Picardy, without the stimulus of race hatred or religious prejudice, engendered even greater excesses than those we lament in Ireland, and the most stringent laws, whether enforced by despotic or democratic rulers, have been equally powerless to check them. Secret coalitions have baffled the administration by every form of terrorism—boycotting, incendiarism, destruction of crops, cattle maiming, and murder of so-called landgrabbers. It is significant that all the details of outrage which disfigure the sister isle must have been familiar to every student at Douai or St. Omer. We must refer the reader to Mr. Prothero's pages for a lucid and succinct account of the nature of tenant right in France—of its origin (which has been the subject of much learned discussion), of its development and its decline. Many causes have combined to lessen the urgency of the tenant farmer's insistence upon retaining his land. More profitable forms of investment have been provided. The purchase of the freehold has been brought more within his reach. But Mr. Prothero emphatically insists that the diminished importance of tenant right in France is in no degree to be assigned to exceptional legislation.

One marked characteristic of French provincial life is the spirit of economy on which Mr. Prothero discourses so wittily and so wisely. Time and labour are the only things of which the dweller in provincial France is lavish. He will spend hours in chaffering over the most trifling bargain, and would deem the demand for an eight hours' day the request of a lunatic. The thrift of the French peasantry is omnipresent, whether displayed in the purple patches of his well-worn blouse, in the tasty salad gathered from the hedgerow which an English labourer would pass contemptuously by, or in the stall at a country fair laden with articles we should regard as only fit for the waste heap. Mark the unconcealed eagerness with which he carries off the prize from some game of skill or chance, where the stake is a couple of lumps of sugar, or the satisfaction with which he lands the smallest of sea or river fish only secured after long and patient waiting. Note the survival of ancient homesteads in the last

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stages of decay which an English landlord would be ashamed to own, and the care with which old and cumbrous conveyances are preserved, and made use of, which with us would have been broken up generations ago and replaced by lighter vehicles. The writer happened to be staying at Dieppe, soon after the fall of the third Napoleon, when a public dinner was made the occasion for an Orléanist demonstration and all the landed gentry of the whole country side attended. The collection of carriages which brought them was indescribably quaint; most of them must have dated from the days of the Grand Monarque; and from them there alighted a body of courtly gentlemen with all the polished manners of the *ancien régime*.

It is a noticeable trait in the average Frenchman that he remains in many respects all his life a child. He can delight in the simplest pleasures and talk for hours on the most trivial topics. He is never ashamed to shew his feelings and makes no attempt to conceal his emotions, whether of joy or of sorrow or of rage. He courts admiration openly. He is unblushingly egoistical. He delights in attracting and monopolizing attention, and, to borrow Mr. Prothero's sarcastic phrase, he cannot understand that ill-temper is the only emotion it is desirable to display in public. This transparent simplicity, leavened with some personal vanity, makes him a charming *raconteur* to an interested listener, to whom he will discourse unweariedly on any favourite subject and to whom at the cost of much pains he will display his most cherished possessions. The average Frenchman has no *mauvaise honte* and no sense of incongruity, and the English traveller is often intensely amused at the strange juxtaposition of ill-assorted pairs, which awaken in the Frenchman no sense of the ridiculous. Twenty centuries of evolution in a purely French environment would never have engendered the precept, 'Thou shalt not plough with an ox and an ass together.'

One more distinctive feature of ordinary French life is the prominent part played by women in its serious business. In rural districts they take an equal share in

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hard labour that with us is monopolized by men; toiling in the furrows, filling the manure carts, foddering the cattle, carrying immense burdens. At market it is generally the woman who disposes of farm and garden produce, and bargains for the sale or purchase of cattle—the man not infrequently standing listlessly by. In commerce the same thing obtains. Superintendence and management, book-keeping and accounts, in short the whole machinery of business, even where male assistants are largely employed, is commonly conducted by women exclusively, or with equal mastery of details and equal voice in control. The notion that such things are outside a woman's province or beyond her competence is not entertained. Is it from the combination of these qualities and conditions that the French have acquired that understanding of the importance of little things which it seems hopeless to impress upon the ordinary English man or woman? Is this the secret of their high average of capability, in which they far surpass people of the same class here at home?

Variety is the note of France and is conspicuous in the diversified character of its population. Proudhon asserts that modern France consists of at least twenty different nations, whose characteristics, especially amongst the peasantry, are still clearly marked. Without accepting so high an estimate, there are such marked differences between the natives of the different provinces as to have become proverbial—the phlegmatic Fleming, the frank outspoken Picard, the industrious but quarrelsome Norman, the honest pig-headed Breton. Auvergnats are credited with being thrifty and clannish to excess; Provençaux crafty, hasty, quick to take offence and to forgive it; subtle Poitevin, bashful Berrian, boastful Gascon—such are current phrases, generalizations founded on experience and summing up with rough and ready, but fairly accurate, justice the predominant type of the several provinces.

How persistent such racial distinctions are is amusingly illustrated by an extract which Michelet[1] quotes from a writer of the eleventh century describing the character of

[1] *Histoire de France*, ii. p. 277.

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the Provençal as seen in the army which Count Raymond of Toulouse led in the Crusade preached under Urban II.

'The Provençal is as different from the Frenchman as a duck from a chicken in customs, character, and food. Not very warlike, if the truth be told, but their prudence during the time of famine was more useful than all the courage of more military races. Without bread they were content to eat roots or the stalks of vegetables, and carried a long iron rod with which they probed the earth for eatables. Hence came the proverb "The Frenchman for fighting, but the Provençal for victuals." But they were not always honest, for they sometimes sold dog for hare and donkey for goat's flesh, and were not above killing a stray horse or mule when they had the chance, and they usually offered the carcase to the astonished owner, who was as sorry for their apparent starvation as they were amused at his evident stupidity.'

Liveliness and loquacity, cunning and chicanery, freedom of thought and conduct are still traits of the Provençal—traceable to the influence of Greek civilization and thought; many centuries old, yet still indelible.

To the traveller in France the variety of attractions—leaving Paris and other large towns out of account—is embarrassing. Normandy and Brittany on the northern coast; the great river basins of the Seine, the Loire and the Rhone; the inland volcanic ranges of Auvergne and the Cevennes; the mountain frontiers formed by the Alps and the Pyrenees; the shores of the Mediterranean and the Bay of Biscay, present an almost endless variety of beautiful scenery and historical associations. Most of the old drawbacks to French travel are things of the past. Railways intersect the country in every direction; and if local trains are slow, the bicyclist and motorist, now ubiquitous, are independent of them. Excellent hotels with moderate charges are everywhere to be found within reach of even the more remote places of interest, and the annual guide-book of the 'Touring Club de France' affords such trustworthy and up-to-date information as will guard the visitor from unsatisfactory or insanitary quarters. Circular tours, including the most salient and desirable spots for the stranger's attention, are

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universal. In short every inducement is held out to attract and to detain the traveller.

Shall we glance at some typical examples—it were impossible to do more within our limited space—which may serve to illustrate what treasures of instruction and enjoyment invite us to 'the pleasant land'? In our rapid survey we will linger longest over what lies outside the beaten track of the ordinary tourist.

To begin with provinces nearest home. Normandy and Brittany may be called the happy hunting ground of the British tourist, so that the sarcastic author says of it, 'Everybody knows Normandy, and therefore Normandy is not known at all.' It is the paradise of architects and artists. Hardly a town of moderate size but has its grand cathedral, and every village possesses a gem in its parish church. Old castles, timbered mansions, desecrated churches, convents and priories, Renaissance hôtels, fortified farms and manors, rich in architectural details and as yet untouched by the deadly hand of the restorer, abound here as nowhere else. The historical imagination is quickened by its intimate association with the Norman Conquest and the Hundred Years' war. Falaise was the birthplace of the Conqueror, Eu the scene of his marriage, from Dives he embarked for the invasion of England, Bayeux and Caen are largely indebted to his piety or remorse; in Arques, Creully, and Lillebonne he raised strong towers of defence; Rouen witnessed the great warrior's death and the strange desertion of his dead body; Caen the yet stranger scene of his ill-omened funeral. With memorials of the Norman kings are blended other names of undying fame: Lanfranc and Anselm, Thomas à Becket and the hapless Prince Arthur, Henry V. and the spotless La Pucelle—all cross the traveller's path. It is one charm of Normandy that these echoes of the past are frequently awakened quite unexpectedly in some quiet country town like Argentan: its former glories are now so faded that one forgets that it was here Henry II. heard of Becket's murder and lay for five weeks on ashes, seeing nobody. These attractive relics of a long buried past, provided with every requirement of modern

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comfort, are plentiful in Normandy, such as Gisors, Falaise, Domfront, Mortain—indeed their names are legion. If we speak more of these less well known places it is because the larger cities require no mention, and the smaller towns are as yet less spoiled by the desecrating 'spirit of the horde.'

The Château Gaillard and the district of Les Andelys, in which it stands, are worthy of special notice. The castle was built by Richard Cœur de Lion after his return from captivity, and was designed to guard the province of Normandy from invasion by Philip Augustus, who had seized Gisors during his rival's imprisonment. The site was admirably chosen, and the castle built under Richard's personal supervision and completed within a year was a masterpiece of defensive fortification which, if properly manned, should have been impregnable. The French king was furious on hearing of its erection. 'I will take it, were it made of iron,' he said passionately; and 'I will hold it, were its walls of butter,' was the reply. Unfortunately Richard died within a year, and Philip's threat was fulfilled. The plan of the fortress may still be traced. With its outworks and outer and inner baileys, its towers and bastions, it presents a perfect specimen of the highest military science of its time, and whilst effectually closing the road from Paris to Rouen, in the hands of a capable commander it would have allowed no lodgement for a besieging army. The sloth or incapacity of John is responsible for its loss, and with it all Normandy ceased to be a fief of the English crown. The history of the Château Gaillard does not close with its capture by Philip Augustus. It was the prison of Blanche and Marguerite, the daughters-in-law of Philip the Fair, who were accused of adultery, and within its dungeons the latter, a girl of twenty, was done to death. After varied fortunes in the Hundred Years' War the order was given for its demolition, and it became the quarry and the quarrel of Capuchins and Penitents until both King and Courts of Justice had to interfere. At length special legislation preserved so much of the ruins as is still standing.

The district of Les Andelys, in which the Château stands, is one of the most charming spots in Normandy:

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delightful both for its exquisite river scenery and for the beauty of its two parish churches. St. Sauveur, in Petit-Andely, finished before the first half of the thirteenth century, is a perfect and untouched gem of early French art, exquisite in its simplicity and the grace of its proportions. Notre-Dame, Grand-Andely, is also of great interest. 'No part of France or England is richer in painted glass than Normandy, and this church contains some of the best glass in the province,' as well as some magnificent wood-carving. The visitor will not retain a less pleasant recollection of the spot after refreshment at the Hôtel du Grand Cerf, a hostelry famous from the days of Walter Scott and Victor Hugo.

In Normandy, as everywhere else, the traveller profits in proportion to the knowledge with which he is furnished and his powers of discernment. No one can obtain intellectual benefit by the hasty scamper through a foreign land which is now much in vogue, and some acquaintance with the history and principles of art, as well as sufficient leisure to drink in its natural and historic charms, are essential to thorough enjoyment of Normandy. How many for example of the thousands that yearly pass through Rouen linger there and dwell in the spirit of the following quotation on the marvellous architectural wealth which it still possesses?

'In the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville we can sit comfortably, unharassed by guides, and in nobody's way, to look at the abbey church of St. Ouen. There is a summary of architectural decadence before us. St. Ouen, soaring and stately, is Gothic, French Gothic *in excelsis*. Blocking it is the miserable west front, which is sham Gothic *in infimis*. On its left are the eighteenth-century abbey buildings, now the Hôtel de Ville; spacious and severe, they at least command respect. Beyond there is the establishment of the Sapeurs-Pompiers, which is not architecture at all. When we can understand what it is that makes the Hôtel de Ville infinitely superior to the home of the fire brigade, we shall be in a position to appreciate the beauty of Gothic art. Most people like it for the number of its parts, its niches and finials and pinnacles; the more nearly stone can be made to resemble lace the more ecstatic is their

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praise. They admire the accidents, and they miss the essential qualities.' [1]

We have dwelt especially on the artistic treasures of Normandy, but its natural features are no less fascinating. The calm sweet beauty of its byways and villages, the exquisite freshness of its coasts, the variety and loveliness of its river banks as their streams wind through hill and forest, orchard and meadow, invest it with all the charm of peaceful rural life steeped in the alluring atmosphere of a foreign land. No province of France so much resembles England; but it is England with a difference not the less indubitable because it is hard to define.

When we cross the boundaries of Brittany we step into another world. The transformation is complete. Character, customs, manners, dress are all in strong contrast to life in England. The careless cultivation and the vast stretches of waste lands, of which Arthur Young complained so forcibly, are things of the past; but in most other respects Brittany is an anachronism, one on which we would gladly enlarge but which we must dismiss only too briefly. The following appreciation from the pen of one who knows it well gives a vivid and truthful description of Brittany at the present day:—

'In spite of the winds and tempests which desolate it, the Bretons love their country. They live in liberty; they are their own masters. The past holds profound and tenacious root in the hearts of these men of granite, and the attachment to old beliefs is strong. The people still believe in miracles, in sorcery and in the evil eye. The land, rich with memories of many kinds—with its menhirs, its old cathedrals, its pilgrimages, its *pardons*—sleeps peacefully in this century of innovations. In Brittany everything seems to have been designed long ago. Wherever one goes one comes across a strange and ancient Druidical monument, menhirs and dolmens of fabulous antiquity, an exquisite legend, a ruined château, ancient stone crosses, *calvaires*, and carvings. It is a country full of signs and meanings. The poetical superstitions and legends have been left intact in their primitive simplicity.

[1] *Highways and Byways in Normandy* (Macmillan), p. 286.

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Nowhere do you see finer peasantry; nowhere more dignity and nobility in the features of the men and women who work in the fields; nowhere such quaint houses and costumes, hardly anywhere more magnificent scenery. You have verdant islands, ancient forests, villages nestling in the mountains, country as wild and beautiful as the moors of Scotland, fields and pasture lands as highly cultivated as those of Lincolnshire.' [1]

We think it singular that a painter's daughter should have omitted in this encomium a distinctive element of beauty that cannot fail to arrest the eye of the most cursory visitor in the grand contour and gorgeous colouring of its coast scenery which recalls and rivals the finest reaches of the seaboard shores of Cornwall.

Those who would understand the spirit of the Breton peasantry should read M. le Braz' fascinating book, *The Land of Pardons*. The sombre, stern character of this branch of the Celtic race, their strange superstitions, their singular and obstinate credulity, their persistent retention of practices that date from ante-Christian days, their long and weary pilgrimages with sealed lips—*le pardon muet*—their mystic, melancholy devotion during midnight marches, are features of the *pardons*, as the village festivals are called, which are of very great antiquity but which are gradually disappearing. They are held in honour of some patron saint, and the legends regarding these local deities are wonderfully varied. Some, like St. Yves, are exquisitely tender; some, like Mary Morgan, are infinitely terrible. At one place the procession moves along in absolute silence; at another it ends in a terrific fight for the sacred banner, or rather for the staff, for the flag is always torn to pieces in the struggle. It is all weird, ghostly, unreal. Full of deep pathos as a witness to passionate yearning for superhuman sympathy. Widows lamenting husbands lost at sea, shipwrecked mariners returning thanks with mournful consciousness that the waves will soon claim them. The sick bringing every form of hideous disease in hope, long deferred yet not quite extinct, of healing. Beggars of all kinds demanding alms with fierce

[1] Menpes, *Brittany*, pp. 253-4.

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importunity. *Soi-disant* conjurors credited with mystic powers for weal and for mischief. All the young girls and all their lovers, the whole people of a wide district gathers at the most famous *pardons* of the poor or of the singers, of the mountain and of the sea. As a picture of a life that has lasted for ages but is now rapidly vanishing away it is intensely interesting, but it is absolutely heathen. What have the spiritual teachers of this Brittany, nominally Christian for centuries, been doing that it is so ignorant of the Almighty Love which can be touched with the feeling of man's infirmities, and that, instead of all these fabled saints, it does not turn to the Man of Sorrows, who is truly able to sympathize, to succour, and to save?

Let us pass on to the great river basin of the Loire, which, in its course of 540 miles, occupies more than a fifth of France. Here the ancient province of Touraine teems with historical interest. It is the land of the great French châteaux—Amboise, Blois, Chenonceaux, Chinon, Chambord, Chaumont, Loches, and many more. The struggles between France and England, the darkest scenes of royal crime and vengeance, the wanton caprice and enormous extravagance of royal mistresses, the terrible alternations of ruthless bloodshed and reckless gaiety which turned the homes of courtly splendour and grave national counsel and political intercourse into shambles reeking with human blood, are all illustrated on the banks of the Loire. One can follow from château to château the chain of history which begins with the Plantagenets at Chinon and ends with the assassination of the Balafré at Blois. The tombs of the Angevin Kings of England at Fontevrault recall the days when more than half modern France with all its western seaboard, from the mouth of the Seine at Havre to the point where the Adour falls into the Bay of Biscay, owned English sway, while in our own times the walls of Chambord sheltered until his death the chivalrous but impracticable Legitimist and titular King Henry V., the last of the Bourbons. What a motley of names crosses our path as we trace, however rapidly, the story of old

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Touraine! What contrasts of character, of purpose, of destiny! Henry II. and Richard I. of England, with Louis XI. and Francis I. and the Valois dynasty of France; Charles Martel and St. Martin of Tours; Caesar Borgia and Leonardo da Vinci; the Guises and the Chatillons; Rabelais and Jéan-Jacques Rousseau. Nor is the list of women who avenged the Salic law and potentially ruled the kingdom less remarkable: Anne de Bretagne, Agnes Sorel, Margaret of Anjou, Catherine de' Medici, Diana of Poitiers. These are but a few salient names in a list that might be interminably prolonged. We question whether any other spot in Europe contains within so small an area such wealth of historic memories: and they are for the most part set in a framework of beautiful scenery. The great river is itself emblematic of the French character: in its normal flow singularly seductive, but rising at times with sudden violence to an irresistible flood the impetuosity of which sweeps all before it.

All travellers agree in assigning an indescribable charm to Provence and to the entire valley of the Rhone. Its fascination does not lie on the surface, and the passing 'carpet-bagger' finds but little to attract in its limestone hills and scorching plains, where (says an old French writer) there are floods in winter, dust in spring, mosquitoes in summer, and fever in autumn. But in the students of history the charm soon begins to work, and it speedily becomes entrancing. The historic wealth of Provence is inexhaustible, almost bewildering. It goes back to the settlement of the Phocaeans and Phoenicians, who have left vivid traces on its soil. It presents living results of the Hellenic occupation in the singular beauty of the Arlesiennes, which is of an essentially Greek type, and it is from the same source that its chief scenic beauty is derived through the introduction by the Phocaeans of the olive and the chestnut, as well as the systematic culture of the vine. It was the scene of the masterly manoeuvres by which Hannibal outwitted Scipio and prepared for the crushing defeats of Trasimene and Cannae. It witnessed the awful carnage by which Marius annihilated the horde of

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barbarian invaders, the holocaust of whose rejected spoils still blackens the soil of Tegulata; when a hundred thousand warriors were slain, and thrice that number of women and camp followers were massacred or sold as slaves. After victories of Julius and Augustus Caesar in its borders, it became the seat of advanced Roman civilization under the Empire, and hardly even within the Italian peninsula are there monuments of higher interest—temples, baths, aqueducts, amphitheatres, towers, triumphal arches—which in their enormous dimensions, their indomitable mastery over difficulties, and their imperishable strength typify the spirit and irresistible might of Rome. It is the land of love and chivalry, of the Crusaders and the Troubadours; the cradle of wild and pious legend, of religious protest and ruthless persecution, of chivalry that too often flamed into ferocity, of love which degenerated into licence, of religious ardour that bred frightful intolerance, but from which were gradually evolved the gentler manners of modern intercourse, the recognition of woman's rightful position, the necessity for religious toleration. In the century during which the Popes resided at Avignon, the attention of all Europe was concentrated on Provence; but with the close of the Great Schism its historical importance ends.

'After her years of fighting and of love, tired out too soon by passions which had left her well-nigh strengthless, Provence fell upon a long sleep in the encircling arms of France. . . . The torrent of the Rhone is symbolic of the country: dazzling in the sunshine, strong and barbarous in the shade, with no respect of persons or of places, yet with a beauty that is irresistible. Its oratory was typified in Mirabeau. Its poetry lives in Mistral.[1] . . . To the student of history there can be no more beautiful, no more pathetic region in Europe than the valley of the Rhone.'[2]

The propriety of the latter epithet is apparent when we consider what Provence was under Greek and Roman influence and during the Middle Ages. Its wealth and

[1] For an account of Frédéric Mistral—the Robert Burns of Provence—and the Félibres see his very interesting work, *Mes Origines, Mémoires et Récits*, which has recently been translated.

[2] T. A. Cook, *Old Provence.*

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prosperity before the fall of the Roman Empire are proved by the splendour of the public buildings we have referred to, in which the luxury of the Eternal City was reproduced and the entire population revelled in the most sensual and most cruel entertainments the world has ever seen. The amphitheatre at Arles was only surpassed in size by the Colosseum and three others, and would seat thirty thousand spectators. What a brutalizing spectacle alike for the élite and for the rabble was presented when at the sound of the trumpet the gladiators marched in to fight and die, or when whole families of helpless men and women were cast to the wild beasts for daring to hold the faith which now dominates the foremost nations of the world. The sufferings and bloodshed these spectacles occasioned are indeed appalling, but to our thinking they are less horrible than the attitude of mind which could find its pleasure in them. The nobler spirits among the gladiators (and some such there were) who went proudly to the combat, and those who suffered willingly for conscience' sake, might well have applied the sacred words to the bloodthirsty throng encircling them : 'Weep not for us, but weep for yourselves and for your children.'

Fifteen centuries rolled by and the amphitheatre of Arles witnessed other scenes of nameless horror. For years when its fortifications were no longer needed for the defence of the city, every portion of its vast extent—arena, arches, subterranean dungeons—had become the haunts, in which all the scum of the city found a secure refuge for unspeakable enormities and crowded every quarter; and upon this seething mass of villainy and misery in the year 1640 the plague, which had periodically devastated Arles for generations, unhappily fell. Forthwith the stricken and starving inmates were first ruthlessly enclosed in their steaming pest house, everyone that ventured beyond its walls being instantly shot down, and then were driven out at the sword's point to isolated booths, where most of them perished. We have no space for the details of the tragedy—not even for a glimpse of the Inferno in the vaults, the sight of which drove one visitor to madness, nor

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to look upon the hideous procession, in which one man suddenly died in horrible convulsions and almost instantly five more fell dead beside him. With the revival of such memories a horror of great darkness broods over the scene.

As the traveller gazes on the majestic ruins of Provence the question is naturally suggested, Whence came the extraordinary wealth which such remains betoken? It could have been no ephemeral era of prosperity which beguiled the Phoenicians to settle on its coasts; that blossomed early into the exquisite statuary of the Venus of Arles; that revelled in the costliness of the Maison Carrée at Nîmes and the triumphal arches which adorn Saint Rémy, Carpentras and Orange; and which in Christian days is represented by the exquisite and lavish decoration of St. Trophimus and St. Gilles, churches of the first rank even among the architectural gems of France and specimens of the unique Romanesque only met with in this region. The *raison d'être* of such legacies from a long distant past is not to be found in the barren limestone range of the Alpelles which encloses them, nor in the desolation of the Camargue and the wide waste lands which surround the dead cities of the lagoons, nor in the broad plains covered for leagues with sunburnt stones, and unrelieved save by a few stunted melancholy trees. All this desolation is the work of the Rhone. The vast mass of detritus brought down by its torrent and aided by the mistaken, but too effectual, efforts of French engineers to check its impetuosity, has changed the face of the whole country, has choked up ancient channels and harbours, and has converted waving corn lands into dreary marshes. Narbonne, Aigues-Mortes, Maguelonne, Agde, once flourishing ports, are all now some miles inland: Aigues-Mortes, the harbour where St. Louis embarked with 36,000 men for the Crusades; Maguelonne, now only represented by its church, its typical church, strongly fortified to resist pirates, who would descend suddenly on its beach and with their plunder sail hurriedly away. The mischief wrought by interference with the current of the river is enormous. A few details will afford some conception of its extent.

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'The Rhone now carries seventeen million cubic metres of alluvial soil out to sea every year, where it forms bars, quicksands and shoals, which destroy the possibility of navigation and which might have covered one hundred and twenty acres of the Camargue with a couch of soil twenty-five centimetres thick. These deposits have been more or less prevented from benefiting the country since the fourteenth century, and even earlier. One result is the dead towns of the Gulf of Lions. . . . If the Nile were similarly treated, Egypt would perish in less than two hundred years. Arles was once known not only as "Gallula Roma," but as "Theline" or "Mamillaria Arelas" and the riches from which it nourished Gaul were the products of its fertile soil. Now, out of 160,000 acres of its plains only 18,000 are cultivated profitably, and these 18,000 are all alluvial soil deposited by the Rhone, wherever the river has free course; all the rest is desolation.' [1]

The dikes have created a further danger of sudden and tempestuous floods when the Rhone is swollen: yet, adds our authority, they remain and will no doubt continue, a signal contrast between our own enlightened times and those more barbarous ages when Arles was not only beautiful but prosperous as well.

We cannot linger longer over the attractions of Provence, of which we have barely touched the fringe. Avignon, Les Baux, Vaucluse, St. Rémy, we can perforce only mention, yet how large the first looms in the history of thought and action: how diversified are the spheres of interest their names recall! Scenes of the deepest passions that stir the heart of man—religion, bigotry, love, valour—are instantly called up as we think of Petrarch and Laura; of the wanton Court of the French Popes and the enormities of the Albigensian Crusade; of the extinct race of heroes that once held Les Baux and the good King René; of the legends of St. Martha and the three Maries. But we must pass on.

No region of France is perhaps so little visited by Englishmen as the Cevennes, yet it is not only readily accessible to those who are on their way home from the Riviera, but the early spring season is the best time for exploring

[1] T. A. Cook, *Old Provence.*

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its recesses and it is easy to enter them from Béziers, Montpellier, or Nîmes. The entire district is full of interest, geological and anthropological, political and religious. Volcanic action of comparatively recent date has torn up the granite and its superimposed rocks and tossed them about in the wildest confusion. Atmospheric action upon the more friable strata has carved out picturesque masses into weird shapes that people the plateau. At one place a huge crater now silent presents a dreary waste of lava, at another its cup encloses a startling oasis of verdure in a surrounding desert. Here a river flows through the channel it has cut for itself through lava and limestone—the Rhone has in this way lowered its bed a thousand feet since the liquid stone flowed—then, after forcing its way through softer rocks, it falls over a precipice in a splendid cascade and rolls on through a deep gorge of basaltic columns or loses itself beneath the ground to return again at a great distance to the surface. The Cevennes is the land of incessant surprises, of strangeness and savagery, of vast caverns and gigantic grottoes, of waterfalls and cañons, of deep pot-holes, called *avens*, into which one may descend for hundreds of feet, of hidden recesses where whole armies might lie concealed, of tracts whose surface is so porous that the heaviest rainfall is instantly swallowed up and a deluge would be needed effectually to moisten it. It would exhaust all the terms which geographical science has coined for natural objects—ravine, gorge, fissure, cañon—to describe the diversified and bizarre aspect of this remarkable department. It represents a world in the making, with a thousand instances of arrested development. Yet withal it is the home of great beauty, and in May the limestone hills are overgrown with aromatic herbs, which fill the air with fragrance. One remarkable feature of the Cevennes is the Ardèche, which as Mr. Baring-Gould says is certainly

'the most extraordinary river in Europe; after leaping and burrowing and sawing its way through basalt, it passes down a cleft of lias disposed in beds completely horizontal and rising like the walls of houses. In fact, it traverses a long white street, many miles in length, and then enters the great ravine

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between lofty precipices of Dolomitic limestone, where runs no road, and where one must descend in a boat shooting rapid after rapid in the midst of scenery rivalled only by the noted gorges of the Tarn.' [1]

Amongst the wonders of the Cevennes we cannot pass without special mention Le Puy, the capital of the Velay. No city in Europe occupies so fantastic a site. It is planted on Mount Anis, the larger of two rocks that rise abruptly from a fertile plain shut in by barren, storm-swept hills. The streets scramble up its steep sides until a lofty ledge is reached on which the cathedral stands; whilst yet higher is a colossal statue of the Virgin, the largest in the world. The smaller one, a precipitous *aiguille*, is yet more remarkable; for its summit, which might well have been held to be inaccessible, is crowned by the Church of St. Michel. It is reached by a flight of 265 steps cut in the face of the rock, and so scanty is the platform on the top that all crevices on its surface had to be filled in, in order to make room for it. 'The plan of the church,' says Mr. Baring-Gould, 'is peculiar, resembling the attitude of a sleeping dog. The chancel lies beside the main entrance at a higher level, and the nave is curved and has an aisle also on a curve, divided from it by columns and arches. . . . The entrance is a superb specimen of Byzantine Romanesque work. The chancel may possibly belong to the original structure consecrated in 980.'

The fame of Le Puy dates from before the age of Charlemagne, and was greatly enhanced by the miracles attributed to a black image of the Virgin said to have been brought from the East by St. Louis. Multitudes flocked to the shrine, and their offerings made the bishopric extremely wealthy and provided funds for building the splendid cathedral, a basilica of Romanesque design. It is strange how *bizarre* objects of devotion and incredible legends repeat themselves. Notre-Dame du Puy recalls the black Virgin of Einsiedeln and the fabled boy murder of St. William of Norwich. We wonder how many of the thousands of pilgrims who, under the sense of sin, travelled thither from

[1] *Book of the Cevennes*, p. 8.

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afar observed and took to heart, as they wearily mounted the steps of the ascent, the legend inscribed on two of them

> 'Ne caveas crimen, caveas contingere limen :
> Nam Regina poli vult sine sorde coli.'

When one recalls this phase of history, notwithstanding M. Frossard's warning, it is hard to avoid moralizing on the influences which, despite our Lord's words, 'Neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem,' moved all Christian Europe in the Middle Ages so to prize worship at some far-distant altar. Both exterior and interior of the cathedral repay most careful study. A third church contains the tomb of Du Guesclin, the hero of many victories over the English, and after the Maid of Orleans the chief instrument of their final expulsion from France. The magnificent manuscript of the Bible of Theodulf is the priceless gem of the cathedral library. It was written from 788 to 821 on vellum partly white and partly stained purple, without division into verses or punctuation, and both in the Psalter and other places it differs from the Vulgate. We might linger long over the stormy chronicles of Le Puy : now goaded to rebellion by the exactions of its powerful and avaricious bishops ; now a prey to the devastating armies of England ; now despoiled pitilessly by Huguenots or Routiers ; now suffering from the iconoclastic fury of the Revolution. It still survives, a glorious relic of the past and one of the most extraordinary cities of the world.

The character of the Cevenol has in the past singularly corresponded with the wild region he inhabited. Terrible stories are rife of domestic tragedies among the noblesse ; of lonely inns where murder in its most hideous forms, prompted by avarice, was rife ; of monasteries where the monks have violated their vows, issued forth, and committed the wildest excesses ; of robber barons, of profligate and extortionate bishops ; of sudden uprising against intolerable oppression fiercely avenged. It is a land that has a stamp of its own (says one writer), with Biblical 'types of men and with brains not altogether like other men's brains.' What manner of men dwelt in the inextric-

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able network of its mountains was made manifest when the revolt of the Camisards added its most romantic pages to French modern history.

The country was an ideal one for the guerilla warfare which a handful of men maintained against the soldiers of the Roi Soleil and in which the utmost gallantry and resource were displayed by Cavalier and the other rebel leaders. That deplorable excesses should be committed was inevitable when the hot blood of the mountaineers had been fired by years of barbarous persecution, and when ruthless expulsion of the pastors who might have calmed or curbed outbursts of religious excitement had naturally engendered fanaticism. What wonder if crowds of men and women, nervously alert to impending danger, hungry and weary, became subject to strange hallucinations? What wonder if the mysterious, hysterical excitement, so common and so contagious in the Middle Ages and not unknown in later days, came upon them, and, to use their own name for it, they 'prophesied'! In their own rude rugged way they set an example of unflinching obedience to the voice of God, as they regarded it, which more polished circles under happier conditions would do well to emulate. They knew how for conscience' sake to fight, to suffer, and to die. The persecution, so long and pitilessly sustained, was ineffectual, and to-day whole villages in the Cevennes are followers of Calvin.

Besides the culture of the mulberry, the manufacture of Roquefort cheese and the pursuit of lacemaking, which itself employs nearly a hundred thousand women, the Cevennes has two special harvests, each of which is probably unique. The first is of the violets, which clothe the district of Mézenc in spring with royal purple. These are gathered by millions in the month of May, carefully dried in hay-lofts out of reach of the sun's rays, and sold in the middle of July, at St. Eulalie at the 'Foire aux Violettes,' when they still retain their scent and their exceptionally deep colour. Every kind of simple used by druggists, every herb required for essences, is at the same time on sale; but the violet is the staple of the trade. The other and

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yet more important harvest is that of chestnuts, which are the mainstay of life in the Cevennes. The beating of the trees and the gathering of the chestnuts holds the place of the vintage in the more sunny south, and is ushered in with special ceremony. The crop is dried in *séchoirs* in the smoke of coal fires kept incessantly burning. The description of the process is not alluring. Although 'one stands the risk of being asphyxiated, nevertheless the peasants spend two months in the year in these habitations, amid cobwebs and soot, swarming with rats and mice, and the smoke at once acrid and moist, for in drying the chestnuts exude a greenish fluid that falls in a rain from the shelves.' The natives not only do not seem to mind the smell and dirt of these horrible holes, but carry to them bed-ridden patients suffering from phthisis. 'The sick person is not allowed to leave the drying house, and not infrequently under the influence of the heat and the sulphurous smoke the tuberculosis is arrested and the sufferer lives on for many long years.'[1] It is poverty that drives the Cevenol to adopt for two wintry months so miserable a dwelling. The lot of these humble highlanders is indeed a hard one. They lead a life of unceasing toil, scant enjoyment, and indescribable dirt.

We must bring this discursive paper on 'the pleasant land of France' to a close. Whole regions that well reward a visit are perforce left unnamed, and it were useless to do no more than barely enumerate them. We have already described in these pages the French Pyrenees,[2] and we would gladly have added something of the Côte d'Or and the Auvergne, of Poitou, the scene of the worst excesses of the dragonades and of the heroism which defied them, of Hérault and the recent outbreak of the fiery southerners on the Golfe du Lion. Enough has, we trust, been said to indicate the wonderful charm, the inexhaustible variety of French travel.

We commenced with some words of advice from one French writer, and we venture to conclude with a brief

[1] Baring-Gould, *op. cit.* p. 272.

[2] *C.Q.R.*, April 1896.

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extract from another, which all travellers would do well to bear in mind.

'Les Anglais [he writes] dédaignent d'ouvrir les yeux sur le mérite, sur les qualités qui sont propres à chaque peuple; cette insouciance donne à leurs vertus un air d'orgueil qui en diminue l'attrait; enfin, ils comptent pour fort peu de chose l'approbation, le suffrage des autres; et le seul moyen d'être aimable, c'est de les compter pour beaucoup.'

Art. IV.—SIMON LANGHAM, ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER.

1. *History of the Church of St. Peter, Westminster.* By Richard Widmore. (London: 1751.)
2. *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury.* Vol. iv. By W. F. Hook. (London: R. Bentley, 1865.)
3. *Chronicle of John Redyng.* British Museum, Cotton MS., Cleopatra A 16 (A.D. 1345–67).
4. *History of Westminster Abbey.* By John Flete, Monk of Westminster, 1420–65. MS. of cent. xv. in the Library of the Dean and Chapter.

Of the abbots of Westminster none was more famous in his lifetime and none has left a more permanent memorial of his activity than Simon Langham. The Cardinal of England, as he came to be called, never forgot his old monastic home, and the present nave of the Abbey church owes its inception to his princely liberality and his strong will. He deserves better treatment than he has received from the historians. Almost every one who has touched upon him has fallen into some error of fact or of chronology; even the earliest writers puzzle us by their discrepancies. Yet all agree that he was a great and a good man, who filled the highest offices in Church and State with dignity, integrity and unselfishness.

His name first occurs in the chamberlain's list of the monks of Westminster for the year 1339–40.[1] He may

[1] Widmore, *Hist. of Westm. Abbey*, p. 91, gives the year as 1335 in the

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possibly have been a monk earlier, for the rolls of the eleven years previous are missing. But he stands last but one in a list of forty-nine monks, and the treasurers of Queen Eleanor's manors speak of him as not yet a priest in 1340. Notwithstanding his junior position he was proctor for the abbot at the General Chapter of the Benedictines, held at Northampton in 1346; and therefore we must assume that he was already a man of unusual distinction. A clause in his will shews that he came from Langham in Rutland. Of his father we know nothing except that his name was Thomas, and that he was buried in the Abbey; we may suppose that he died after his son had become abbot. The Black Death brought Simon Langham suddenly to the front. Indeed, his path to preferment was cleared more than once by the pestilence. His predecessor as prior fell before it early in 1349; his predecessor as abbot in May of the same year; his predecessor as bishop of Ely died miserably at Avignon in the plague of 1361. And it is curious to note that his only extant private letter mentions the 'epidemic' at Avignon in 1374, and that it was at his intercession that the Pope granted plenary indulgence to the English victims in the following year.

The Black Death had entered England by the port of Weymouth in August 1348, and it reached London about Michaelmas. There it raged for eight months, reaching its maximum of destructiveness at Candlemas, and almost disappearing after Pentecost (May 31). A tradition preserved by Flete, the historian of the Abbey a century later, declares that the abbot and twenty-six monks died of the pestilence. Now the chamberlain's roll of the year ending Michaelmas 1347 mentions the prior and fifty-one monks. The next extant roll is nine years later, and it shews us the names of only fifteen of these fifty-two persons. We have incidental notices of five others; but thirty-two are not heard of again. Some of these may have died in 1348 before the plague began, and some in the years 1350–55, after it was over. But we may fairly accept the figure

text; but his footnote gives the regnal year correctly. His unfortunate slip is everywhere reproduced.

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twenty-six as no exaggeration of its actual victims; so that the abbot and half his monks were swept away.

Simon Amondesham the prior perished while the pestilence was in full course; Simon Langham was chosen in his place on April 10. Simon Bircheston the abbot was one of its last victims, dying at Hampstead on May 15; Simon Langham was chosen abbot twelve days later. He was elected *per compromissionem*—that is, by seven chosen electors; and one of these, William Dumbleton, the almoner, was dead before the end of the next month.

The first business of the abbot-elect was to journey to Avignon to obtain confirmation of his election from the Pope. For this purpose ready money was a necessity, and the Abbey was already in great financial distress. Accordingly, before his departure we find him resorting to an extreme measure to meet pressing needs. In the 'Liber Niger Quaternus' we read (f. 80):—

'A.D. 1349, 23 Edw. III., after the great pestilence, there were delivered and sold out of the treasury of the convent of Westminster, for the settlement of debts and for other urgent causes, many jewels and ornaments, as is shewn by the parcels thereof made; which in their sum total amount to the true value of 315*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* This was done and delivered by the hands of Simon Langham, elect, Benedict de Chertsey, Nicholas Litlyngton, Thomas Cumbroke, and John Mordon, monks of the same place.'[1]

It will be interesting to gather together here such further indications of the effects of the Black Death as are discoverable in the records of the Abbey. And first we may look at the roll of the treasurers—there were commonly two, one of whom was the monk bailiff—for 1350–51; this is the only roll extant since 1344–45. The accounts are perplexing, owing to changes in the office. Nicholas Litlyngton had been one of the treasurers from at least 1344 till Michaelmas 1350, or thereabouts, when he had somewhat unexpectedly been made prior in succession to Benedict Chertsey,

[1] This passage illustrates the irregularity with which the prefix *de* was inserted or omitted. Even in his lifetime Simon de Langham is sometimes written without the prefix, though the full form is more common.

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of whom we shall say something presently. Notwithstanding the sale of jewels from the treasury, he had left a deficit on the treasurers' account of 204*l*. The two new treasurers at Michaelmas 1350 were Thomas Cumbroke and Richard Merston. But Hurley Priory, a cell of the Abbey, was vacant, apparently through the death of John de Tothale by the plague. At the beginning of August 1351 Cumbroke ceased to be treasurer, and thereafter he appears as the new prior of Hurley. While he was principal treasurer he contracted new loans for 196*l*.; he also gathered in 290*l*. from such sources as the payment for a new chantry, the sale of an annual pension, and the sale of certain ornaments. Yet even this unusual increment of 486*l*. (more than 7,000*l*. of present value) was all too little; for when the year ended Richard Merston, who was left sole treasurer, had to report a deficit of 170*l*., while the new loans of 196*l*. had still to be repaid; and this in spite of an effort at economy in the shape of suspending all payments for anniversaries of deceased abbots.

So far we have had no express reference to the Plague. It is otherwise when we turn to the cellarer's rolls, of which fortunately three are preserved. The first runs from Michaelmas 1348 to Lady Day 1349, the very period in which the plague was raging. We must assume that the cellarer, William Staunton, fell a victim; for a new account follows, viz. from Lady Day to Michaelmas 1349, under his successor, Benedict Chertsey. The third account is that of Thomas Cumbroke, from Michaelmas 1349 to Michaelmas 1350. The two former accounts make special references to the plague as affecting prices. Thus Benedict got two shillings a head for nine pigs, *et non plus propter pestilenciam*; three years before pigs had fetched three shillings each. Also he enters 22*d*. for shoeing two mill-horses for the half year, *tantum propter pestilenciam*. On the other hand, W. Staunton had recorded that he had paid 12*l*. for seventeen oxen—'so much because they were bought *before* the pestilence,' which for the moment reduced prices, though its results soon sent them up beyond the normal standard. The last of the three accounts explains

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a large cost for hay-making, because no help could be got from men of the Abbey, *propter paucitatem hominum.* It is to the credit of the cellarer's department that the accounts were kept in the accustomed form during the whole of this terrible time.

The last account of the *Novum Opus*, or new building, which is extant before the plague, is rendered by Simon Bircheston, and closes in November 1344, when he became abbot. It shews that the cloister was then in building. Bircheston in founding his anniversary made provision for continuing the work of the cloister, and in it he lies buried, close to the entrance to the dormitory. The next account is for three years, Michaelmas 1349 to Michaelmas 1352. In these years the work was carried on vigorously in the cloister. The new prior, Nicholas Litlyngton, made a large contribution to it; and the only indication of the bad times is found in the *nova convencio*, or new agreement with the masons after February 22, 1350, by which they got two shillings a week instead of one and eightpence, *propter carum tempus victualium.*

But we must return to our abbot-elect. He obtained his confirmation from Pope Clement VI. at Avignon, July 20, 1349; and six days later, having received benediction from Arnald, bishop of Sorra in Sardinia, he was instructed by a papal mandate to betake himself to his abbey. On August 1 he got a licence to contract a loan of 1,000 florins to meet his expenses at the apostolic see; and so he journeyed homewards. His installation took place on September 7 (the Translation of St. Dunstan), and his temporalities were restored nine days afterwards.

The position of the new abbot was a difficult one. Of the seven monks who had elected him all but one were of older standing in the monastery, and the discipline of the house under his predecessors had been lax. An echo of his anxieties is found in the eulogy with which the historian Flete a hundred years afterwards begins his account of him:—

'With what affection this venerable father treated the convent, how strenuously he toiled for the common good of the

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brethren, how industriously he rooted out the insolences, abuses, singularities, superfluities, and maliciousness of some; how wisely he restored the discipline of the Order which some persons' wilful ways had broken down, is still freshly preserved in memory; if lips be silent, deeds still speak, and acts of his which are in customary force to-day.'

A notion of his trouble may be gained from the behaviour of his first prior. Benedict Chertsey left England in the summer of 1350, to transact business for the convent at the papal court. The matter in hand was the appropriation of two Essex churches, Sawbridgeworth and Kelvedon. The story was an old one. In 1298 a fire had broken out in the royal palace of Westminster, and the flames had spread to the Abbey, destroying the dormitory, refectory, abbot's hall and other buildings, but sparing the church itself. The old Norman walls doubtless resisted the fire, but the buildings with their wooden roofs were gutted. In answer to their cry for help the appropriation of the church of Mordon was granted to the monks in 1300, and presents of timber were made for the re-roofing of the refectory. Other rapid repairs were doubtless made, but a signal had been given for a great effort of rebuilding which was to occupy the chief part of the century. In 1330 Pope John XXII. sanctioned the appropriation of the church of Longdon in Worcestershire, and also of Sawbridgeworth and Kelvedon in Essex, in aid of the buildings destroyed by the fire and not yet rebuilt. After much trouble Longdon was secured in 1335; but the Essex churches, which together were worth 110*l.* a year, could not be got. The Bishop of London, their diocesan, his chapter, and the archdeacons of Colchester and Middlesex opposed the grant; and, though the Pope sent a new mandate in 1333, nothing came of it. Now, in their financial distress, the abbot and convent determined to make a fresh effort. Letters were obtained from King Edward to the Pope, and Benedict Chertsey was despatched to Avignon on this important errand. On August 31, 1350, he appointed Richard Reding and John Mordon as his proctors in his absence.

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But it was the year of the Jubilee, and great indulgences were to be gained by a visit to the sacred sites at Rome. The King had expressly forbidden all exit of pilgrims from English ports, on account of the depopulation and scarcity of money consequent on the plague. Benedict saw his opportunity, and having got safely across the Channel went to Rome. This we discover from his subsequent endeavour to rectify his position. For on May 18, 1351, there was issued at Avignon a papal grant to Benedict de Chertsey, 'claustral prior of Westminster,' to return to his monastery and his position, he having left it without leave of his abbot to go to Rome in order to obtain the indulgence of the year 1350, under pretext of business at the papal court, and having moreover adopted lay clothes for the sake of safety. Whether news of this escapade had quickly reached Westminster, or whether other misdeeds were the cause of his deposition in his absence, he was already spoken of as the 'late prior' in a document, still extant, dated November 18, 1350. This is a royal licence to the abbot, prior and convent of Westminster to prosecute for the recovery of divers their goods and chattels pawned (*elongatorum sive invadiatorum*) by one Benedict de Certeseye, *nuper priorem Westmon. contra voluntatem ipsorum.*[1]

Three other papal warrants of 1351 shew that he did his business on the way back. On February 12 he got a licence of a kind much sought after at that period—namely, to choose his own confessor, who should have power to give plenary absolution at the hour of death. On April 17 he obtained leave to contract a loan of 800 florins to meet his expenses at the papal court, 'the goods of the priory being distinct from those of the monastery.' Lastly, on May 5 he secured the renewal of the appropriation of Sawbridgeworth and Kelvedon—the business on which he had been sent. Thus fortified he made for home. But not even the Pope's bull could set him in his seat again. The best he could get was an annual pension and a chamber to himself in the infirmary.[2]

[1] *Munim.* 1575. [2] *Infirmarer's Roll*, 1356–57.

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Benedict's successor as prior was Nicholas Litlyngton, who was already a person of considerable distinction. His influence at Court is shewn by the fact that he induced the King not to appropriate to his own uses the abbot's temporalities on Henley's death in 1344, and again on Bircheston's death in 1349. Moreover, in 1346, in return for the fervent prayers of the convent for his success in the wars, Litlyngton obtained from the King a grant of immunity up to date for all escapes of prisoners for whose custody in the Gatehouse the Abbey was responsible. These facts are recorded for us by a contemporary monk named John Redyng, of whose work as the chronicler of the Abbey in Simon Langham's time it is fitting to say something here.

The Cheetham MS. of the *Flores Historiarum*, preserved at Manchester and edited in the Rolls series by the late Dr. Luard, was partly written at Westminster, and contains a continuation of the *Flores* by Robert de Redyng from 1307–25. This portion, with some earlier matter, is copied in the Cotton MS., Cleopatra A 16, where it is followed by two further continuations, 1325–45 and 1345–67. The latter is by John Redyng, and his hand is discernible in the former also (though it professes to be taken from Adam de Murimuth); the Westminster entries certainly are by him.[1] Under the year 1345 John Redyng introduces himself to us thus :—

'What follows is recorded for future times by a certain brother John de Redyng, a monk of Westminster, in name alone and not in perfect conversation; lacking in letters and ability, relying more on common talk than on his own study or the letters of great men, nowhere citing ancient writings because of the prolixity of the deeds of the present; with weary labour and in rude form he has composed his work.'

His awkward sentences almost defy translation, but he was an intelligent observer and something of a partisan; and, after our attempt to piece together the story of the

[1] For the extracts from this MS., as well as for much help in the study of the documents of this period, the writer is indebted to his friend the Rev. R. B. Rackham.

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time from isolated notices in rolls and registers, we welcome the living comment on things and people which he offers us. He was probably a little afraid of Simon Langham, and he lavishes his praise on Nicholas Litlyngton. He has no hard words for Benedict Chertsey, recording only his success in obtaining the appropriation which we have mentioned. But we may let him speak again for himself :—

'A.D. 1344. The king after Christmas conferred on the queen the vacancy of Westminster, which the convent redeemed out of the queen's hand for five hundred marks, through the intervention of brother Nicholas de Litlyngton, who always procured their good.

'A.D. 1346. And because the convent of Westminster, while the king was in foreign parts, on Wednesday and Friday in every week devoutly visited the shrines of the saints with bare feet, praying for him and his people and their expedition, the king by his warrant dated at Calais forgave them the escapes of all prisoners from the beginning to the present time; and this was through the intervention of brother Nicholas de Litlyngton, monk of the same convent, who was oftentimes the best advocate of the affairs of the church, but sometimes unrewarded: yet in heaven, as it is hoped, he who hath laboured here the more shall be enriched with the fuller recompense.

'A.D. 1349. In the same pestilence died brother Simon de Bircheston, abbot of Westminster, who left that place heavily burdened through loans, excessive expenditure, frauds of his household, and ravages of his relations. To him succeeded brother Simon de Langham, the prior, by harmonious and canonical election; who by his economies and his wisdom paid off in a short time the debts of his predecessors, and by the employment of more prudent counsels guided his church and the brethren thereof after a more than usually honourable fashion. The profits of the vacancy, which by right belonged to himself, the king of his affection conceded to brother Nicholas de Litlyngton, monk of the same place. He, for his part, who always procured good (that I may confess the truth) and hindered evil to the utmost of his power, by this so great bounty gave kindly relief to the future abbot and his fellow-monks.'

We may add to these indications of Litlyngton's favour with the King a royal warrant dated June 12, 1351, which

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contains an interesting reference to the change in the great seal:—

'Edward, etc. We have inspected the letters patent formerly granted under the seal which we then used, in the following words: . . . [an exoneration from all burdens of the manors granted for Queen Eleanor's anniversary, dated April 20, 1337]. We therefore, at the request of our beloved in Christ Jesus, brother Nicholas de Litlyngton, prior of Westminster, have thought fit that the tenor of our letters aforesaid be set forth under the seal which we now use,' etc.

It would seem, then, that Simon Langham had one strong man at least to support him in a period of exceptional difficulty. The burden of debt to which John Redyng alludes was the abbot's special care, and during his twelve years of office he succeeded by personal economies and good management in paying off 2,200 marks of debts incurred by Simon Bircheston, and also 200 marks of merchant's bonds entered into under Thomas Henley and Simon Bircheston for the prosecution of a lawsuit about the jurisdiction over St. James' Hospital and for other causes. There were further troubles in his first two years which had resulted from laxity of administration. It appeared, for instance, that of ten shillings *per annum* of a certain rent due to the kitchener, one shilling had been relaxed for many years by a document sealed contrary to all right by the prior and convent with no mention of the abbot's name, and in fact without his knowledge and consent. A more serious matter was that the convent seal had been counterfeited by one Robert de Wakefield and his accomplices, and appended to forged bonds granting corrodies or pensions to various persons.

Appended to the inventory of goods sent over from Avignon after his death is a summary by some Westminster monk of the end of the fourteenth century, recording the chief benefits which Simon Langham conferred on the Abbey. Flete has evidently relied on this document for some of his facts. The following paragraphs refer to the period when he was still abbot:

'He gave a precious vestment of blue velvet, worth a hundred marks.'

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This is probably the vestment which is more fully described in the inventory of the vestry taken in 1388, an interesting Westminster document which has strayed into the chapter library at Canterbury and has been edited in *Archæologia*, lii. (1890), by Dr. Wickham Legg: 'a cope and chasuble with two tunicles of blue velvet with imagery surrounded by vines, and leopards' heads of gold adorned with pearls, of the gift of the same Simon' (p. 63). It is tempting to identify it also with a vestment in the inventory taken at the dissolution of the monastery, which is thus described[1]: 'a cope, chezabull and ij tunycles of blewe velvett, embrothered with vynys of gold with whyte rosys with lybard hedds of gold.' The white roses may have been substituted later for the imagery.

'He acquired from one Nicholas Gaugere a serjeantcy in the *cellarium* of Westminster, appertaining to the said Nicholas of hereditary right, to the advantage of the convent for 80*l.*'

Similar serjeantcies of the vestry and of the butler's office were granted by Abbot Gervase to William de Wenduna in the middle of the twelfth century, and remained in the Wandene family for a hundred and fifty years.[2]

'He acquired at his own proper costs for the advantage of the convent a manor in Fynchesle, called Bydyke, and another manor called Le Fryte, for increasing the vesture of the convent.'

In abbot Litlyngton's time manorial courts were held at Finchley and Le Fryth, but soon some difficulty arose about mortmain in regard to the Finchley property.

'He never burdened the portion of the convent, but always fostered it: he extorted nothing from the convent in presents, but remitted them: he took away nothing from the brethren in the queen's distributions, or in any other way: but he always confessed that the portion of the convent was too slender.'

The presents here spoken of (*exennia*) often occur in the accounts as customary gifts to the abbot and prior. The profits of Queen Eleanor's manors, after the charges

[1] *Transactions of London and Middlesex Archæol. Soc.*, August 1873; ed. by Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, B.D.; IV. iii. 328.

[2] Westminster 'Domesday,' ff. 90 *sqq.*

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of her anniversary were defrayed, were divided among the monks, the abbot dispensing them from the prohibition against having monies of their own.

'For the advantage and right conversation of the convent he ordained the Misericord, which before was out of use, where alike seniors and juniors on alternate flesh-days have recreation in honourable fashion.'

Meat was not allowed to be served in the refectory, but in early times the abbot or the prior could invite some of the brethren in turns to partake of it in his *camera*. Moreover, by an order of the General Chapter of Benedictines of the province of Canterbury, held at Northampton in 1225, there might be provided *locus honestus iuxta refectorium* for the recreation, as it was called, of the brethren 'who bear the heat and burden of the day.' Abbot Ware's Customary shews that there was such a *domus misericordiae* at Westminster in the thirteenth century. The famous constitutions issued by Benedict XII. in 1336 required that at least half the convent should always dine in the refectory; and as this seemed too hard for the English monks, the first General Chapter of the united provinces, which met in 1338, interpreted it to mean half the number actually resident and able to come; excepting, that is to say, monks in the infirmary and monks absent on various duties. It would seem that Westminster must have been very lax in regard to these regulations, and that the Misericord was actually out of use; the senior monks no doubt finding 'recreation' in some fashion of their own, and the juniors finding little or none. Simon Langham, then, restored the institution and placed it on a reasonable footing.

The document ends with a clumsy tribute of genuine appreciation:—

'As the seniors have related who knew the ancient state of the monastery, he so stablished the monastery in such due order and under such good governance, that if he had done no good besides to the monastery, save only by settling the monastery under such governance, he might have been associated in merit with its founder or renovator.

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'With such and so great paternal affection he loved the convent, that the convent's portion seemed always nearer to him than his own; and at his retirement his monks mourned, as did his disciples for St. Martin. His hearty affection towards the convent in his life his actions prove; and even his death attests it: for after his death he gave himself to the convent and all that was his.'

The task of restoring discipline is not a popular one, but abbot Simon contrived to mingle the bitter and the sweet, and his generosity carried the day. It was a small thing, perhaps, but it was a contribution to good fellowship, when he decreed in 1352 that spices and wine should be served all round as a loving-cup on the Deposition of St. Edward by the almoner, and on the Translation of the saint by the keeper of his shrine. By a more substantial boon he signalized the feast of SS. Peter and Paul in 1358, when he gave to the convent 'a garden called the Burgoyne, with its appurtenances both within and without the close, which before had belonged to the portion of the abbot.' This 'Burgundy' had been seized by King Edward II.—his only French conquest, as men unkindly said—but it had been restored to the abbot in the first days of his successor. We have noted that our abbot was installed on the Translation of St. Dunstan; and it is interesting to add that his one ritual ordinance of which record is preserved was the keeping of St. Dunstan's festival *in quinque capis*, and also that the chapel of St. Dunstan under the dormitory was repaired in his time. He may well have taken St. Dunstan as his model in the reformation of the monastic life of Westminster.

We may now turn back to our chatty chronicler, John Redyng, and hear a little more of the gossip of the abbey. In 1355, before starting on the expedition which was crowned by the victory of Poitiers, the Black Prince, with his royal father

'visited the places of the saints in England to implore the Divine aid; and when there had been offered to St. Edward by our lord the king the Head of the blessed abbot Benedict, on 30 June, and all needful preparations for war had been made,'

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the expedition started from Plymouth on the Nativity of the Blessed Mary. Flete gives the same date for the gift of this precious relic by King Edward, 'the flower of all Christian chivalry.' But Rymer's *Foedera* (vi. 93) gives, under July 5, 1358, a warrant under the privy seal ordering 'the Head of St. Benedict to be delivered out of our treasury to the abbot and convent of Westminster, to be kept among the other relics *in ecclesia abbatiae praedictae, quae est capella nostra.*'

In 1357, John Redyng tells us, two cardinals came over to make peace, but had little success, and they brought no good to the English Church :—

'In the aforesaid matters, and in others, Simon de Langham, then abbot of Westminster—perhaps to get a name for himself and fatter promotions—laboured more abundantly than all.'

This is not a kindly remark, and elsewhere there are traces of bitterness and grudge. Yet he fully recognizes Simon Langham's ability and generosity, and ambition is the sole offence that he can charge him with. We shall soon see the abbot called to the definite service of the State.

The next year Isabella, the King's mother, died. She had intended to be buried

'at Westminster, the place consecrated by the blessed apostle Peter in the spirit; but she was led astray by the Friars Minor who always worsen those who adhere to them.'

A comment on this is found among the Abbey muniments in a royal warrant to the abbot of Westminster to assist at the anniversary of the King's mother in the church of the Friars Minor in London on August 22 (the year is not given), and to be present at Vespers and at the Dirge the evening before, and at Mass the next day. She had taken the habit of St. Clare, and so the friars had a right to her; and the Abbey for another reason was no place for her. A warrant is still preserved among its muniments, which dates from the brief period of her supremacy at the opening of King Edward III.'s reign, and which orders the Stone of Scone to be sent to the queen-mother for delivery to the Scots. The sheriffs of London, who were to receive it

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from the abbot, happily refused to be parties to the surrender.

In 1359, before going abroad, the King again visited 'the places of the saints,'

'and at length, after the Assumption of Blessed Mary, namely, on 21 September, he came to Westminster and commended his business and his true cause to St. Edward and the other saints whose relics are there, and devoutly heard Masses. And when these had been celebrated, and the due offerings offered, he called to him those who were present, and said: "It is declared, as I believe, that I ought to be buried with the three Magi at Cologne; but most assuredly I do not intend them to be disquieted and moved for my sepulture. See this present place, more worthy and more fair! the place too of my first honouring, wherein also most honourably rest Christ's well-beloved confessor Edward, once king of England, and his most devoted client Henry the king, and Edward the king, my noble grandsire, than whom in all his lifetime none was more glorious or more daring in arms, none more prudent in marshalling armies: the place which received in ancient days its consecration from blessed Peter the apostle with the ministry of angels. Who, I ask you, shall stay me from burial, according to my wish and my devotion, here in my own church, amid these three illustrious kings?"'

On November 21, 1360, Simon Langham was made Treasurer of England. It was a signal that Westminster would not long retain him. The next year he was present at Lambeth when the archbishop pronounced the necessary dispensation for the marriage of the Black Prince; and then at Windsor, four days later, for the wedding which took place on Sunday, October 10. Shortly after this he was elected to the see of London; but at his own and the King's wish, and by papal provision, he was sent to the distracted diocese of Ely, whose bishop, Thomas de Lisle, had for some time been in disgrace and had just died at Avignon. He was consecrated on March 20, 1362. On the same day the King committed the abbot's temporalities to Nicholas Litlyngton, the prior, who presently was elected abbot.

If Simon Langham had come in with the pestilence, he

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went out with the hurricane. On January 15, 1362, a few days after the papal warrant was issued for his provision to Ely, came 'the great wind' which throughout England wrought the direst havoc. It threw down 'crosses, trees, belfries, windmills,' as the Worcester chronicler says; 'churches, belfries, and many houses in the eastern parts of England,' as we read in the annals of Bermondsey. Westminster had cause to remember it. Flete tells us how abbot Litlyngton had 'all his manors devastated by the great wind, but within three years restored them better than before.' The account-rolls for the year give us some pretty reading. The sacrist had to pay forty-six shillings for 100 ells of canvas for windows of the church destroyed by the wind. Then he paid Peter the smith for 'mending 148 bars of the glass window in the great Rose,' and more for ironwork in other windows both of the church and of the chapter-house; and for several years to come John Payable and another glazier were employed upon the new glass. The treasurers paid for a new stable at Ashwell, and the repair of the new grange 'damaged by the wind,' for the water-mill at Amwell 'destroyed by the wind,' for a house at Mordon and another at Paddington 'thrown down by the wind.' The almoner had tilers at work on his great grange and his hall, and also on St. Margaret's chancel, for which he was responsible. The infirmarer employed tilers too 'for mending chambers in the infirmary *post ventum impetuosum*'; and he had to repair his grange at Wandsworth. On the other hand he enters: 'For timber bought, nothing this year, because of the elms thrown down in the infirmary' (*i.e.* in the present Abbey garden); and his bill for firewood is eight shillings, 'and not more, because the residue was from the trees blown down by the wind: and enough remains for the ensuing year.'

We must not follow our abbot to Ely and Canterbury. At Ely we know that he was generous, but also that he was a disciplinarian; and when he left some wag wrote:—

'Exultent celi, quia Simon transit ab Ely:
Cuius in adventum flent in Kent milia centum.'

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At Lambeth his Register shews the desperate effort he made to bring to book the pluralists of his province, of whom William of Wykeham was the prince. It is when he becomes a cardinal that he interests us again; and for the interval a few dates must suffice to tell his story. On February 19, 1363, he was made Chancellor, and his speeches at the opening of two sessions are preserved in the Rolls of Parliament. In July 1366 he was 'provided' by the Pope to Canterbury on the death of Simon Islip. He received the pall in St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster on November 4, and on the following Lady Day he was enthroned. He resigned the Chancellorship in the autumn of that year. On September 23, 1368, Pope Urban V., then in Italy for a brief period, made him Cardinal presbyter of St. Sixtus, a promotion which necessitated residence at the papal court. He heard the news on October 6 at his manor of Otford, and on November 28 he resigned his archbishopric. The Pope had already provided William de Wittlesey as his successor. Early in the next year he obtained the King's leave to cross the sea, and on May 24, 1369, he reached the papal court at Montefiascone. In 1370 the Pope returned from Rome to Avignon, where shortly afterwards he died. One of his last acts was to write to the Archbishop of Canterbury to prepare the way for his proposed mission of the cardinals Simon de Langham and John de Dormans to mediate between the kings of England and France. Gregory XI., who was crowned on January 5, 1371, proceeded to carry out this project, and the Cardinals of Canterbury and Beauvais, as from their former sees they were popularly entitled, started on their thankless errand.

Before the year is out we find Simon Langham at his old home. The treasurers' roll for Michaelmas 1371 to Michaelmas 1372 shews a payment for the prior and W. Zepeswich (=Ipswich) riding to Canterbury with a letter of the lord cardinal *pro domo scolarium apud Oxon.*[1] There

[1] We cannot enter here into the long controversy about Canterbury Hall, which was terminated on April 8, 1372, by a royal writ enforcing the papal decision. Simon Langham may have been partial to the Benedictines. The ultimate issue was that the Westminster monks got

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are entries also for sums 'expended on the clerks and squires of the lord cardinal at the feast of St. Edward,' and for 'the prior and bailiff meeting the lord cardinal.' Moreover, the sacrist's account (W. de Zepeswich, September 29–October 30, 1371) has an item 'for ringing the bells on the arrival of the lord cardinal' for the festival of St. Edward's Translation, October 13.

On March 20, 1372, Simon Langham was across the sea at Marck, mediating a settlement between the English king and the Flemings. But peace with France was no nearer, and in June the English king was making fresh preparations for war. Yet negotiations were still dragging on at the beginning of the next year. On January 2, 1373, we find our cardinal at Rochester priory, sealing a lease of all his English benefices to William Palmer, a canon of Derby, for the sum of 1,360 marks, out of which thirty were to be spent on repairs and thirty more on the resident poor. He was now dean of Lincoln, with the prebend of Brampton in the same church; he was treasurer of Wells, and archdeacon both of Wells and of Taunton; and at York he held the prebend of Wistow, and was soon to add to it the archdeaconry of the West Riding. This is a specimen of the way in which cardinals were provided for; but it is a cruel irony that Simon Langham's income should have been drawn from that very pluralism against which he had tried to take action as archbishop.

Letters of recall were issued from Avignon to the two cardinals in the middle of April. The first Life of Gregory XI., printed by Baluze, says that nothing resulted from the mission of peace, partly because the enmity was inveterate, and partly because the cardinals seemed to be partisans rather than mediators, each having been chancellor and friend of his king. It may be added that the French cardinal had been succeeded as chancellor by his brother, when he retired in 1371. In the course of the year 1373 both brothers died, and the English cardinal returned to Avignon. The sarcastic chronicler who writes the continua-

the rooms in Gloucester College which the Christ Church monks no longer required.

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tion of the *Eulogium Historiarum* tells us that Simon Langham soon after his arrival in England had received a severe reprimand from the Pope and cardinals because he had derogated from his own dignity and that of the Roman court by dropping his hood in the royal presence (*suum deposuit capicium regi Angliae*); nor could he get excused until his return, when he proved by satisfactory evidence *quod non nisi medietatem capicii deponebat.* However this may have been, the Pope recognized his merits shortly afterwards by promoting him to be Cardinal bishop of Palestrina.

We now come upon a batch of correspondence, preserved among the Westminster muniments, interesting in itself and important for the history of the Abbey church. A few facts have been picked out from it, but it has never been properly investigated. Unfortunately several of the letters are mutilated and difficult to decipher. The first in date is perhaps the only private letter of Simon Langham which is still extant in the original. Though a brief and hurried note, it is characteristic of the writer, especially in its closing sentence. It is addressed on the back, 'To the venerable father in Christ, the lord abbot of Westminster, our very dear friend,' and beneath this is, '*S. Epūs Penestrinus Card.* ✠'

'Reverend father and very dear friend,—Since there is now pressing danger in the Roman Court from the epidemic, it does not seem to us wise that money should be sent to us at present; and so we are writing to William Palmer, our proctor, that the money due to us be deposited in your church of Westminster, to be kept there by you till we send for it. And we earnestly ask you to be so good as to arrange quickly about this with the said William, that our wishes in the matter may be carried out, writing back to us what you have done in this affair and in all others which concern us. May your paternity have strength for the governance of your church as we should wish (*Valeat vestra paternitas ad regimen ecclesiae vestrae ut vellemus*). Written in haste at Avignon, on the 15th of April.'

We learn from the first Life of Gregory XI. that the plague was so severe at Avignon in 1374 that the Pope fled

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from the city to less infected places in the neighbourhood; and this is confirmed by the Calendar of Papal Letters, which shews that he was moving from place to place from the first of May till the end of September.

The next letter is dated May 9, 1375. The writer is John Bokenhull, a Westminster monk who is at Avignon on the business of the convent. Among other matters, he has to search the papal registers to get at the facts as to the privileges granted to the Royal Chapel of St. Stephen within the palace, which was seeking to shake itself free from the authority of the abbot. The long lawsuit which followed belongs to a later period and does not concern us now. Master Thomas de Southam, who is so warmly praised in the letter, was archdeacon of Oxford, a man of the law whom the cardinal had attached to his service, and who as his auditor held the foremost place in his household. The Abbey made much use of him, and after the cardinal's death retained him as counsel by an annual fee. It is probable that he is the writer of a somewhat peremptory letter to the abbot on the cardinal's behalf which follows in this correspondence. The combination of two separated fragments has happily restored to us the whole of John Bokenhull's letter, and with the exception of the first words of about a dozen lines, which are actually torn away, it has yielded to decipherment. It is a reply to a letter written by abbot Nicholas Litlyngton from his manor of Denham. Portions of it are of sufficient interest to be given in full:—

'Reverend father and lord,—My humble salutation first made, may it please your paternity to know that I your orator have, with due reverence, received here at Avignon your gracious letter written at Denham on 28 January, containing certain points to which I purpose to reply one by one. First, then, as to the free making of the Will, I am sending you bulls in duplicate of the same tenor concerning the expediting thereof, obtained at the instance of my lord by the negotiation of Master Thomas de Southam, to whom I shewed the letter you sent me, by which it appeared to me that you were in despair of the expediting of the matter; and accordingly Master Thomas has not ceased to labour until the said matter was expedited. And because I had my doubts that you might consider a bull to be suspect in

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which there is a small erasure, though not in a suspicious place, I caused another to be written of the same tenor, both of which I am transmitting to you. And in sooth, my lord, you are much beholden to Master Thomas, and so is the whole convent, because for you and your church he has readily laboured much, and gladly will labour again; and you may well confide in him beyond others, because his good words and good deeds have been always ready for you and your church.'

The reference to the free making of a Will is elucidated by a phrase in the actual testament by which the cardinal made the abbey of Westminster his residuary legatee, *auctoritate apostolica mihi in hac parte concessa.*[1] The state of the cardinal's health was, as we shall see, such as to cause grave anxiety. The Will was in fact made on June 28, a year before his death.

The writer proceeds to report on the matter of St. Stephen's Chapel, and on the letters of conservancy which the Pope was persuaded to grant for the exceptionally long period of ten years, though not, at present at any rate, in perpetuity. They placed the responsibility of watching the Abbey's interests on the abbots of St. Albans and Waltham and the prior of Coventry. He then continues :—

'As to the chantries to be founded, as you write, for my lord cardinal, I have spoken to him and have set forth in full your diligence shewn in this behalf, and he is well content; [but he is urgent that the arrangements] should be completed in his lifetime, that he may be able to have those that shall pray for him. . . .

'I have learned at my lord cardinal's that he is sending for the profit of your church by the merchants of the Strozzi a certain jewel [. . .] with fastenings made of silver and gilded, together with a fair missal given him by our lord the king. And besides this I have procured together with [. . .] of Master Thomas de Southam, your very dear and faithful friend, that every year during his life you shall receive [200*l.*] sterling at two terms of the year, by the hands of William Palmer, his proctor, from his benefices in England. [. . .] I hope, has written to you more fully: and in case he shall hear that any part of the work has been put in hand, he has arranged

[1] Widmore, *History of Westminster Abbey*, Appendix p. 190.

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that for the said work [. . .] the sum of [. . .] florins. And so I counsel you to cause something to be done and prepared for the said work; for we are all mortal. [Nor is it necessary], as my lord has said, that the pillars be of marble, as you write, but of other good stones which will [last] as long, [and so] the said work will be completed [the sooner] and at less cost. . . . But in truth since Christmas until now my lord has been hindered by so great infirmity [. . .] save on one occasion to visit [our lord the Pope], and consequently he has set forward but few matters: so that if your business is not expedited, I must not be blamed; nor can I do more than constantly to urge him on. . . . Our lord the Pope has firmly resolved in his own mind that in September next he will move with his court to Italy; from which determination he cannot and will not be changed, though the king of France and the cardinals have done their very utmost that he should remain here. . . . Moreover, on 4 May, the lord bishop of London [*sc.* Simon de Sudbury] was translated to Canterbury: but for the church of Worcester and London provision is postponed for certain reasons. . . . Written at Avignon, 9 May, 1375.

'Your humble servant, brother John de Bokenhull, monk.'

It will be at once evident that this letter is of first-rate importance for the architectural history of the Abbey. It shews us that, if the rebuilding of the nave is due to Simon Langham, it is to Nicholas Litlyngton that we owe the strict adherence to the lines laid down by the thirteenth century builders. The pillars are of Purbeck marble, and not 'of some other good stones which will last as long.' Our restoration of the text is partially conjectural, and it may be that the suggested supplement does a wrong to the cardinal's memory; otherwise we cannot acquit him of a morbid impatience to see something done in his own lifetime.

We must pause here to make the position intelligible by a brief review of the history of the building. Mr. Micklethwaite decided on architectural grounds that before the death of King Henry III. the rebuilding of St. Edward's church had reached the end of the ritual choir, and Mr. Lethaby's recent studies have confirmed this view. The old Norman nave was connected with the new work, and

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so the matter stood for another century. In 1298 the disastrous fire had occurred which crippled the Abbey for many years to come. We have the accounts for the re-roofing of the refectory about 1300; and similar repairs must have been made in the dormitory and elsewhere. The cloister demanded the earliest possible attention, for the portions next the church had been partly reconstructed of necessity by King Henry's masons. The east walk was being completed on the new scale when Simon Bircheston was abbot (1344-49); Simon Langham and Nicholas Litlyngton carried on the work, and the whole cloister was finished in July 1365. In that year the infirmarer was pulling down his kitchen, and the new infirmary with its cloister was not completed till 1381. Moreover, in 1358–60 nearly 300*l.* had been spent on the great belfry which stood north-west of the church; and in 1362 'the great wind' had necessitated serious repairs in all directions. The great gatehouse, with its famous gaol, was also rebuilt at a very large cost; and the abbot's house rose anew from its foundations. In the year in which John Bokenhull was writing, the abbot's new hall was still in progress.[1]

This survey does not pretend to be exhaustive. The refectory was largely altered, the kitchen repaired, if not rebuilt; a whole range of monastic offices, along the east side of the present Dean's Yard, was waiting to be undertaken, and was in fact built before the century was out. With all this work in hand, or hardly out of hand, we cannot wonder that abbot Litlyngton should think more than once before he started to pull down the massive Norman nave. But the cardinal was not to be refused, and before the year was out the destructive hammers were at work.

'You must know' (writes the abbot to John Bokenhull in the next letter which is preserved) 'that since Michaelmas there have been seven masons continually at work, and three at the quarry at Reigate; and since Christmas ten masons to pull

[1] For further details of the Abbey building reference may be made to an article 'The Benedictine Abbey of Westminster' (*C.Q.R.*, April 1907).

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down the side of the old church next the cloister. And all is in readiness now for rising twelve feet in height and three pillars in length. I myself laid the first stone on the first Monday in Lent [March 3, 1376] in honour of God and St. Peter, and in the name of our most honoured lord.'

This letter was written from Denham on April 1, 1376. The abbot says that he has already sent several reports of progress, and cannot think what has become of his letters, as he is charged with not having written. Letters were crossing sadly at this period. We know that on March 19 he had written to someone in the cardinal's household, most probably to Thomas Southam. That letter reached Avignon on May 7; and the next day a reply was sent which contained the following passage :—

'As to the progress in the new work of your church, my lord has received your letter setting out clearly the form and manner of the work. It seems to him that, all things considered, the workmen are too slow at their work, half-hearted and slack (*tepidi et remissi*).'

It would seem that the cardinal himself wrote on the same day in a kindlier strain; for we happily have, on the two sides of a single sheet of paper, the rough drafts of Litlyngton's replies to both his correspondents. To the cardinal he says that his letter has given him immense delight, as it manifests his kind appreciation of the zeal displayed in completing his chantries, and of the happy inauguration of the new work of the nave; he only wishes the cardinal could cross the sea and come to supervise his own work. To the other, who has frankly told him what the cardinal thinks, he writes :—

'Dear friend,—Since I have gathered from your letter that our lord cardinal is not satisfied with the speed of the new work on the fabric at Westminster, would that it were given him to brave the perils of the sea and other risks and come in person to his church of Westminster and supervise the diligence of his workmen. Then, as I hope, he would make a kindlier excuse for that lukewarmness of which you speak. For his money has to go for other things besides workmen: namely, for stone, both from the quarry and elsewhere, and for rubble. And besides,

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it would be easier to make a new church somewhere else than to pull down the old one there.'

The abbot then goes on to other topics, and incidentally mentions that the funeral of the Black Prince is to be at Michaelmas. The letter is dated June 30.

The cardinal had passed away before these letters reached Avignon. As he sat in his chair after his morning meal, listening to the reading of the Scriptures or some devotional book,[1] he had a paralytic stroke and lost his power of speech. He lingered three or four days, and died on the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, July 22, 1376. The news would reach Westminster at the end of August. No time was to be lost: letters were obtained from the King, and Richard Merston, the prior, was despatched to Avignon. He arrived in the afternoon of Saturday, October 11, after a rapid journey from Bruges in fourteen days. The next day he saw the Cardinal of Pampilona, the principal executor, and got his leave to take all the personal property that was bequeathed to the Abbey. On account of the great perils of the way, it was decided to arrange with the merchants of Lucca to be responsible for all risks as far as Bruges. The books, vestments, and plate were all separately valued, and five per cent. was the cost of their insurance. Some of the plate was sold on the spot to meet necessary expenses. This we learn from a letter of the prior to the abbot on October 14. Some further particulars were written on November 6 by John Bokenhull. The goods were packed in twelve cases, and were to be delivered in Bruges within three months from October 17. He and the prior were about to start for Rome on further business of the convent. From this journey the prior never returned.

According to the directions of his will the cardinal

[1] Appendix to *Chronicon Angliae* in Rolls Series, p. 399: 'Cardinalis Angliae, dum sedit in collatione sua post prandium, subito paralysi percussus loquelam omnino amisit.' *Collatio* is sometimes used of the refreshment which followed the evening reading in the monastery. But the interpretation given above is the more natural. Simon Langham died as a good Benedictine might wish.

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was at first buried at Bonpas, near Avignon, in the new church which he had built for the Carthusians, and afterwards removed to the Abbey of Westminster. In the treasurers' roll for 1387–8, two years after abbot Litlyngton's death, we find payments entered for three monks coming from Oxford for the funeral of the cardinal, and the expenses connected with this reinterment are given as 96*l.* 15*s.* 5½*d.* Most of this large sum was doubtless spent on transit; his monument did not come till later. There remains an acquittance, dated November 26, 1394, from Henry Yevele and Stephen Lote, citizens and masons of London, for 20*l.*, being part payment of a sum agreed on for making the tomb. Henry Yevele was the famous master-mason who was engaged upon the nave; and both he and Stephen Lote were employed in the following year to make the stonework of the tomb which King Richard II. was erecting for his late queen and himself.

The cardinal's tomb, which forms the north side of St. Benedict's Chapel, is surmounted by a beautiful effigy in alabaster. Above it was a canopy—Keepe says of stone, Dart says of wood. Whichever it may have been, it was much broken at the coronation of King George I., and it has since disappeared entirely. That others besides the monks revered his memory is shewn by the fact that a certain William de Reliquiis 'caused to be made an image of St. Mary Magdalen'—on whose festival he had died—'at the feet of the cardinal's tomb, for ten shillings: and Louis de Bretailx caused the same image to be repainted in the time of King Edward IV.'

The sum total of the cardinal's benefactions to the Abbey was reckoned at 10,800*l.* Of this more than 3000*l.* had been given in his lifetime. The inventory made at Avignon contains an interesting list, probably unique of its kind, of more than a hundred of his books, with the value assigned to each for the purpose of insurance. They were worth about 170*l.*, though, strangely enough, Flete, who appears to depend on the same inventory, reckons them at 830*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.* His mitre alone was worth more than a hundred pounds—at least 1500*l.* of our money. In

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the inventory taken for King Henry VIII. at the dissolution of the monastery it is thus described :—

'The best Myter of gold garnysshed with perleys and precious stonys, lackyng a floure and a stone therein and a lytle leaf of gold on the rybe thereof, and haveyng ij labels perteynyng to the same, garnysshyd with viij gret stonys and perles and viij pendant bells of gold.'

This corresponds with the description of the first of two mitres given by the cardinal in the inventory of 1388, which further tells us that it had *in utraque summitate unum Saphirum.*

It has often been asked, What was the source of the wealth which our cardinal bestowed with such wise generosity? It is generally thought that he must have inherited wealth from his father; but of this we have no indication, and, if we carefully examine the statements regarding his earlier benefactions, we are led to believe that he husbanded the abbot's resources and lived more frugally than his predecessors. In this way he was able to pay off large debts of the convent during his rule of twelve years. When he became Treasurer of England and afterwards Chancellor, he probably found himself the recipient of a considerable income. We may suppose, indeed, that his brief tenure of the archbishopric brought him more loss than gain. But the receipts of a cardinal for eight years at the Roman court might well enable him not only to build a church for the Carthusians, but also to leave seven or eight thousand pounds when his effects came to be realized. It was a time when riches easily followed greatness, and, if our cardinal was the prudent and abstinent man we have good reason for thinking him to have been, he may have been open handed for every good cause in his life, and 'worth 150,000*l.*' (as we might say to-day) at his death.

So we take leave of an able and good man—*vir magni consilii et sapientiae, excellenter tenacis memoriae, et eloquentis facundiae,* as Flete describes him. He was true to his Church and true to his King. He was a reformer who

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could conciliate while he reformed. He was a princely benefactor who insisted on a splendid purpose in his generosity. He was the good servant of two good Popes, in an age when good Popes were uncommon and had few to serve them well. He died a year before his master the King, and two years before his master the Pope; and so he was spared the return to Rome, the terrors of the conclave which elected Urban VI., and perhaps the gruesome fate of the cardinals who afterwards endeavoured to curb his fury; he was spared the misery of the Great Schism—*felix opportunitate mortis.* If we have reckoned his virtues too highly or failed to discover their defects, the fault must lie chiefly with his contemporaries who were so deeply impressed with his worth. Those who have knowledge of the times in which he lived will appreciate the record of so nearly blameless a life.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

ART. V.—THE CHEMISTRY OF LIFE.

1. *Synthetical Chemistry in its Relation to Biology.* By Professor EMIL FISCHER, F.R.S. The 'Faraday Lecture' delivered before the Chemical Society of London. 'Chemical Society's Transactions' 1907, Vol. XCI. pp. 1749-1765.
2. *Untersuchungen über Proteine.* VON EMIL FISCHER. (Berlin: J. Springer, 1906.)
3. *Organic Chemistry for Medical Students.* By Prof. G. von BUNGE. Translated by R. H. ADERS PLIMMER. (London: Longmans, 1907.)
4. *Two Oxford Physiologists, Richard Lower* (1631–1691) *and John Mayow* (1643–1679). By F. GOTCH, F.R.S. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1908.)

CHEMISTRY is a science which deals with the properties of matter. By analysis the chemist ascertains the nature of the substances which build up matter, and the manner in which they are united together. Matter, as a rule, is exceedingly complex, and analysis resolves it into simpler

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materials. When the chemist reaches substances which he can no longer split up into anything simpler, he labels them elements; and about fifty elements are now known to science. Of these oxygen, carbon, nitrogen, hydrogen, sulphur, phosphorus, and the metals are the most familiar. By combinations and permutations of two or more of these elements, all the varied substances which make up the material portion of the universe are compounded. It was one of the old dreams of the alchemists to discover the single element out of which all matter is ultimately composed. Modern chemistry appears to be on the eve of discovering that this idea was not a mere dream; but as the theories which prevail on this aspect of transcendental chemistry are in an extremely nebulous condition owing to the paucity of ascertained facts, it is a portion of the subject which it is not proposed to treat in this article. The doctrine which at present underlies the teachings of chemistry considered from a more practical point of view is that which is called the atomic theory: that is to say, each element is regarded as composed of infinitesimally small particles which cannot be further subdivided, and these are called atoms; each atom has definite properties and a constant weight which varies with each individual element; an atom of oxygen, for instance, weighs sixteen times as much as an atom of hydrogen. Substances which are composed of more than one element are spoken of as compounds, and compounds are also made up of extremely small particles, which are termed molecules. The molecules in their turn are built of atoms; thus common salt is technically called sodium chloride, each of its molecules consisting of an atom of the metal sodium united to an atom of chlorine; water is composed of molecules, each containing an atom of oxygen linked to two atoms of hydrogen; carbonic-acid gas similarly contains in each of its molecules one atom of carbon and two of oxygen; and ammonia molecules contain one atom of nitrogen bound to three of hydrogen.

A chemist, however, is not a mere iconoclast taking matter to pieces and examining its ruins. The complementary operation to analysis is synthesis: that is, the building together once again of the elements into compounds. Know-

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ledge concerning the composition of any substances is never regarded as complete, until both its analysis and synthesis have been successfully accomplished. In the simple examples we have already selected, the formation of water from hydrogen and oxygen, or of carbon dioxide (carbonic-acid gas) from carbon and oxygen, are operations which are so easy that a junior student of chemistry will be performing them within a few weeks of the commencement of his studies. The necessity of synthesis as a foundation for the accurate knowledge of the constitution of the molecules of a compound becomes more apparent when we come to substances which are composed of more than two elements. For it is possible for two or more substances to contain in each of their molecules the same elements, and the same number of atoms of each, and yet those atoms may be linked together in such different ways that the resulting compounds may be very different in their properties—one, for instance, may be a useful food, and the other a poison. A sword and a plough-share are composed of the same substances, but their appearance and their uses are directly opposed. So it is in chemistry: a definite instance will make our meaning clearer. Ordinary cane sugar, a product of the vegetable world, contains three elements—carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen; each molecule of cane sugar contains twelve atoms of carbon, twenty-two of hydrogen, and eleven of oxygen, and the substance so constituted is, as is well known, readily soluble in water, and sweet to the taste. There is another sugar which is a product of the animal organism; this is called lactose or the sugar of milk. It also contains the same three elements in exactly the same proportions; but the substance so constituted is not readily soluble in water, and the property of sweetness, though present, is difficult to detect. The reason of the difference is that the atoms are linked up in a different way, but a knowledge of what this difference consists in cannot be obtained until the material in question has been reconstituted from its elements, while many unsuccessful endeavours to reconstitute it must precede the one which is successful, the one in which the chemist, guided no doubt by previous knowledge of similar compounds, hits upon the

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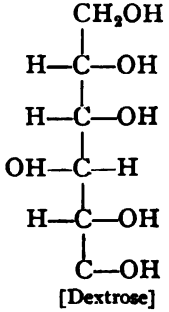
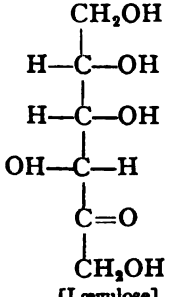
right combination. So accurate are the means now available for prosecuting this kind of research, that a special branch of chemistry, called stereo-chemistry, has been called into being. Stereo-chemistry deals with the position of the atoms in space, within the molecule. We do not wish to burden the readers of this article with too great technicalities, or with the formulae with which, for convenience to themselves, chemists render their articles a terror to the non-scientific reader, but an exception to this rule must be made in the present instance, and we will give an illustration of what has been said, again taking our illustration from the sugar group, though dealing with somewhat simpler sugars than those already mentioned. The formula for a molecule is usually depicted by mentioning the initial letters for the elements composing it, and the number of atoms of each of these is placed beneath it.

Thus the formula for grape sugar or dextrose (the sugar from which alcohol is made) is $C_6H_{12}O_6$—*i.e.* six atoms of carbon, twelve of hydrogen, and six of oxygen in each of its molecules. The formula for laevulose (the principal sugar in treacle) is exactly the same; further, a crystalline material obtainable from many animal and vegetable tissues and called inosite, though not a sugar at all, has, nevertheless, the same formula. These three substances are called isomeric—*i.e.* they have the same empirical formula, but their properties are very different, and this becomes clear when we look at the structural formulae which chemists have now succeeded in ascertaining, and which are shewn below:



[Dextrose]



[Lævulose]

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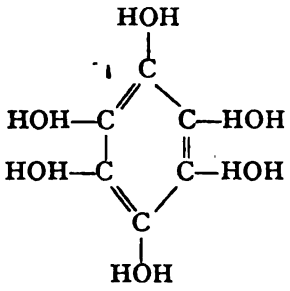

[Inosite]

It will be noticed that the carbon atoms have each four bonds, by means of which they are united together or to other elements, or groups of elements, and that in the two sugars (dextrose and laevulose) the carbon atoms form a long chain; whereas in inosite the six carbon atoms are linked together into a ring by alternate single and double bonds; this ringed formation is characteristic of aromatic compounds (benzene and its derivatives).

We have chosen this example as an indication of the perfection to which our knowledge of the constitution of substances has now attained; it is really quite a simple case, and students of organic chemistry could give many other and more complicated ones.

Synthesis, however, does not stop when it succeeds in making once more from the elements the substances which are present in Nature. Chemists have produced new combinations of elements which do not occur in the natural world at all. The manufacture of the aniline dyes is a striking example of useful products which are entirely due to the labours of the chemical laboratory, and the synthetic production of many commonly employed drugs (antipyrin and the like) is to be traced to the same origin.

It may, however, be asked, What has this to do with the chemistry of life? The artificial production of a dye, a drug, or of a sugar is no doubt interesting from the scientific standpoint; it is evidence of the ingenuity and perseverance of the investigator, but does it lead us any nearer to the perception of the mystery of vital activities? As it stands, perhaps it does not, but what has preceded

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this has been written rather as an introduction, a sort of stepping-stone to make clearer what it is proposed to consider later. We take it that the majority of those who read this article are not chemists, and so a brief consideration of some of the aims and methods of modern chemistry may be necessary. Further, one or two of the instances have been selected from the branch of chemistry called organic chemistry, in order to indicate that it is possible to produce in the laboratory substances which, like sugars, are also produced in the living laboratory of the animal or vegetable organism. If we can imitate these processes, we are on the way to unravelling the secrets of Nature.

A very striking fact in relation to the history of chemistry is its comparative youthfulness. It is not much more than a hundred years since Priestley and Lavoisier laid the foundations of modern chemistry by discovering oxygen, and establishing that oxidation and combustion are practically synonymous terms. Naturally, mineral or inorganic chemistry made most rapid progress at first, because the substances of which this branch of chemistry treats are simpler in their construction than those with which organic chemistry deals. Organic chemistry is sometimes called 'the Chemistry of the Carbon Compounds.' The term 'organic' was originally used because it was believed that the substances dealt with were produced only in the organism of either plants or animals, and were beyond the reach of artificial synthesis. Now that this view has been shewn to be incorrect, and numerous similar substances which do not occur in Nature at all have been constructed in addition, the wider title has been very generally adopted.

It was the year 1828 which first saw the synthesis of a so-called organic substance from its elements, and this important epoch in the history of chemistry was brought about almost simultaneously in this country by Henry Hennell, who made olefiant gas, and in Germany by Wöhler, who constructed the substance called urea, the principal material by which animals thrust out from their bodies their nitrogenous waste. In spite of these discoveries, we

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find in 1837 the eminent Swedish chemist, Berzelius, writing as follows:

'In living nature the elements appear to obey laws quite different from those they obey in dead nature; the products of their mutual interactions are quite different in organic from those in inorganic nature, and the discovery of the causes of these differences between the behaviour of the elements in dead nature and in the living body will be the key to the theory of organic chemistry. It is hidden in such a way that we, at any rate at the present time, are entirely without hope of being able to discover it.'

At an even later date (1842) Gerhardt, a chemist who made many important advances in organic chemistry, said: 'The chemist works in a manner quite opposed to that of living nature; he burns, destroys, works by analysis; vital force alone works by synthesis; it reconstructs the edifice destroyed by chemical forces.'

These conceptions prevailed for nearly two decades longer. It was, for instance, known in Gerhardt's time that starch, one of the most widely distributed materials in the tissues of plants, can by boiling it with acids be broken up into molecules of sugar; that sugar can by oxidation be converted into oxalic acid; and that oxalic acid can by heating with strong sulphuric acid be broken down into carbonic acid and water. But the reverse processes could not then be carried out. Carbonic acid and water, it was true, could be built up from carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen, but they could not be built up into sugar and starch molecules, which is what the plant does. The discoveries of the last half-century, however, have now made this possible in the laboratory, and the possibility of preparing even more complicated substances than starch can no longer be doubted; it is only a question of time.

Before going on to describe some of the most recent and remarkable of these attempts, by means of which biologists are obtaining that mastery over Nature which is the outcome of accurate knowledge, let us pause to consider the ideas that prevailed in the centuries which preceded the nineteenth.

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We shall do so very briefly, but the comparison forms a striking picture of what once prevailed even in the minds of those possessing acute intellects in contrast with what is at the disposal of even the elementary students of science at the present time. In mediaeval days the elements were still limited to four—fire, air, earth, and water. Valentine, the Benedictine monk of Erfurt, extended this crude conception at the end of the sixteenth century, and the various forms of the earth element were regarded as being compounds to which three elementary substances contributed—namely, salt, sulphur, and mercury. Combustion was regarded as the exclusive property of sulphur, which held within it a subtle spirit which became visible as flame when heated; the turmoil produced by heat was called 'effervescence,' and the release of the spirit of flame 'incension.'

It was about this time that Harvey placed physiology upon a firm foundation by insisting that the science which deals with the functions of living matter must be one in which the secrets of Nature can be ascertained only by the experimental method. Previous to his day, biologists, the students of life, were mostly anatomists. The anatomist studies structure, and this he can do as well, or better, with a dead body as with a living one. He may be able to guess what the duties are of the structures he examines, but it is guesswork only, and the guesses of the anatomists were more often wrong than right. It is not until the physiologist examines the machinery in the living state that he can be certain what are the actual uses and functions of its various component wheels. By the application of the experimental method Harvey made many important discoveries, the best known of which is the circulation of the blood. Harvey's day was a comparatively enlightened one. Vesalius, the founder of anatomy, the sister science of physiology, was condemned by the Roman Church to make a long pilgrimage in order to expiate, if possible, the crime of dissecting the dead body; the complete pilgrimage was never carried out, for Vesalius died in his endeavour to fulfil the sentence of the Church. The treatment of Galileo, whose science was not biology but

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astronomy, is too well known to need further reference here. The Church of Rome was not alone in its antagonism to the spread of natural knowledge, for Servetus was burnt at the stake in Geneva by the reformer Calvin. Harvey, on the contrary, was privileged to live sufficiently long to see his discoveries accepted; he was elected to the Presidency of the Royal College of Physicians, and became Physician to the King (Charles I.).

In spite, however, of the change for the better that prevailed in reference to the extension of knowledge, physiological conceptions based upon the chemistry of the matter contained in living things were both primitive and crude. Chemistry laboured at the time from the suspicion of being akin to necromancy and witchcraft, and its study was regarded as a degrading occupation. This fantastic school was busy with occult secrets, and had hopes of turning dross into gold. No wonder that the scientific men of the time paid no heed to chemical learning and despised the beginnings of that branch of knowledge which, in later years, was to become one of the foundations of physiology and the mainstay of the art of medicine.

Although the circulation of the blood was understood, the body was still supposed to be pervaded by subtle 'humours' arising from the spleen and other organs, and by 'vital spirits' whose capricious flow could modify the humours. The use of water as a food was supposed to be to wash out the bad humours, and of solid foods to form humours, good, bad, and indifferent, so that appropriate changes of diet could transform the temperament and character of the person who digested them. The cause of the warmth of the body was supposed to be an 'effervescence' of 'sulphureous particles' of the blood in the heart, and the 'incension' that resulted warmed the whole body. This ceased when the heart-beat stopped, hence the dead body was cold.

Breathing was an inexplicable mystery, some holding that the chief use of the air was to cool the 'effervescence' of the blood, or that the respiratory movements served to assist the pumping of the blood to and fro, or that their principal object was to disburden the blood of its 'excre-

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mentitious steams.' Even Boyle, who was one of the acutest philosophers of all ages, and who had discovered with his newly invented air-pump that life was impossible in a vacuum, never suspected the presence in the air of any special ingredient essential both for combustion and for life.

Into this world of scientific darkness two young Cornishmen, named John Mayow and Richard Lower, flashed like brilliant meteors. Both of them studied anatomy and chemistry at Oxford; they both published important memoirs, which were issued by the University Press or by the Royal Society; they have both been largely forgotten, and their important treatises have only been recently unearthed. Lower proved that respiration was a means of taking air into the blood, and Mayow shewed what part of the air was essential, and surpassed Lower (who was mainly an anatomist and subsequently a fashionable physician) in the scope of his scientific conceptions. Mayow, in fact, was the discoverer of oxygen, which, in the quaint language of his day, he spoke of as 'igneo-aërial' or 'nitro-aërial' particles. This discovery was made when he was only twenty-four years old; twelve years later he died, and his work remained unappreciated for two centuries, when the brilliant young French aristocrat, Lavoisier, renamed the 'nitro-aërial' component of the air with the term (oxygen) by which we now know it. His execution by the guillotine during the Reign of Terror was one of the greatest crimes of the French Revolution.

In his monumental treatise *Tractatus Quinque Medico-Physici*, published by the Oxford University Press in 1674, Mayow shewed that he grasped from his observations on the rusting of metals Lavoisier's conception of oxides, and the modern doctrine of oxidation or combustion. He shewed too that the body contains a store of combustible materials, and that combustion or union with the nitro-aërial particles of the atmosphere produced the heat of the body. He accurately localized the principal combustion as occurring in the muscles, and by the observation that the store of fat in the body diminishes anticipated the now well-proved fact that the fatty matter is one of the principal

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materials that is burnt. His account of the mechanism of respiration is so exact that it might well be reproduced in modern physiological text books. Helmholtz in 1845 was the earliest after Mayow to demonstrate that muscular activity is associated with the formation of oxidized carbon compounds and with the production of heat, and Joule then shewed that this muscular development of heat accounted for at least three-quarters of the total heat of the body. In a treatise upon muscular activity, written by Heidenhain in 1864, reference is made to Mayow in these terms: 'It is truly astonishing how many important physiological discoveries are contained in Mayow's *Tractatus Quinque.*'

It is an impossible task to-day to account for the almost complete disregard which followed this important work. The *Tractatus* were reprinted in Holland, France, and Germany, but their doctrines were regarded as fanciful; they were certainly far in advance of the times and fell upon barren soil. Even Newton and Boyle wrote as if they were ignorant of Mayow's work. The English abstracts of his researches, which were published by the Royal Society in their *Philosophical Tracts*, were written by those unable to appreciate the new conceptions, and were indeed travesties of the original *Tractatus*. Mayow himself became a Fellow of the Royal Society only a few months before he died, and it is possible that he never saw the early numbers of its tracts, or, at any rate, he never had the opportunity to rectify them. It is a curious fact that the honour of the Fellowship was not bestowed upon him for his great discoveries, but for a comparatively trivial piece of work (*The Analysis of the Bath Waters*) which later on engrossed his attention. His old fellow-student, Lower, was after Mayow's death in bad odour owing to his Whig tendencies, and so the only person capable of furthering Mayow's ideas was not likely to have been listened to. The 'phlogiston' theory of the great Stahl, Professor of Medicine at Halle, was the old traditional view of combustion decked out with a new nomenclature; it, however, became the gospel of eighteenth-century chemists, until there arose men who, like Mayow, rent once more the veil of meaningless hypothesis.

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The honour of being the father of modern bio-chemistry is shared between two men, a Dutchman named Mulder, who worked at Utrecht, and the celebrated German chemist, Justus von Liebig. Mulder was the first to classify the organic substances with which the physiologist has to deal into three principal groups, which are called proteins, carbohydrates, and fats, and this classification still remains the A.B.C. of physiological chemistry. Liebig recognized that these materials play different *rôles* in the animal economy and coined the well-known phrases 'heat-forming' and 'flesh-forming' foods. The fats and the carbohydrates (starch and sugar group) form the fuel of the body, their combustion giving rise to animal heat and other manifestations of energy. The proteins, on the other hand, are important as the foods which are specially destined to become part and parcel of the living substance of the body; they are therefore the flesh-forming foods *par excellence*.

Another pioneer whose name demands at least a passing reference is Carl Voit, the eminent physiologist of Munich, who, after a long life devoted to his science, passed away only a few months ago. He it was who initiated the study of what is termed *metabolism*. That is, he endeavoured (and to a large extent successfully) to obtain a comprehensive view of the destination and fate of the different materials contained in the diet; how they are utilized in the body, and how, when they have done their work, they are cast out as waste products. While an animal is alive, every living particle of its body is in a state of unstable chemical equilibrium; it is assimilating and building into its protoplasm the oxygen transported to it by the blood current, and also the more complicated food stuffs which enter the alimentary canal, and which after digestion reach the ever-flowing nutrient stream of blood. At the same time the activities of living material involve wear and tear, and the waste products of such activities are discharged again, *via* the blood stream, by the lungs, kidneys, and other excretory channels. In the jargon of the physiologist the assimilation or repairing stages are spoken of as *anabolic*, whilst the processes on the down grade which culminate in excretion are *katabolic*.

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Anabolism and katabolism together constitute metabolism. In the normal adult the two sides of metabolism exactly balance each other, and so the body-weight remains constant; in the growing child anabolism preponderates, and so the body increases in size and weight; in starvation and wasting diseases the body loses weight, because katabolism is the principal if not the only phase that is possible.

More and more exact have become the methods for exploring and measuring the integral parts of the metabolic cycle, and the careful work of Rubner, one of Voit's former pupils, and of Benedict in America, to mention only two of the most prominent of the large number of workers at present engaged in this sort of research, has shewn without question that the law of conservation of energy is as true in the realm of living matter as it is in inorganic nature; that is to say, the energy of the body supplied to it in potential form by the foods is exactly equivalent to the bodily activities which manifest themselves as heat (a form of molecular movement) and those more visible movements which result in the performance of work.

It is difficult to realize adequately how extensive this widening of knowledge has been, and the adventitious aid of figures can measure only quantity and not the improved quality of the work done. We take, however, the following figures from a paper that has just fallen into our hands.[1] From what we know from personal work in connexion with the International Catalogue of Scientific Literature, we feel safe in asserting that the numbers rather underestimate what has been done than the reverse.

In the last three years the number of original papers published in pathology, hygiene, physiology, pharmacology, and bio-chemistry was about 17,000. In 1904–5–6 the number in bio-chemistry alone was over 9,000; in 1906 it was nearly 4,000. The number of bio-chemical papers published in the 'eighties was only a few hundreds annually. One gathers from this what energy is now being expended in the investigations of the chemistry of living matter, not

[1] *The Scientific Spirit in Medicine*, by Prof. A. B. Macallum, F.R.S., Professor of Physiology, Toronto. *Montreal Medical Journal*, Jan. 1908.

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alone of the normal but of the pathological (or diseased) state as well. The number of the papers published is an indication of the army of workers engaged. If we credit every worker with two publications a year, we can infer that in bio-chemistry alone there must be approximately 2,000 researchers. Twenty-five years ago the number of investigators in all departments of science did not exceed three thousand. Into this vast sea of literature scientific specialists have to wade, but the writer does not propose to lead his present readers into any such hazardous expedition. Instead of this he will ask them to accompany him into one section of the work, and that by no means the least interesting or least important.

Before doing so it will be necessary first to describe in a few words what is meant by the word 'protein.' The proteins are also known as albuminous substances, and are typified by such materials as egg-albumin, the casein of milk and cheese, and the gluten of wheat flour. They are the most complex substances in Nature; they consist of six elements—carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, oxygen, sulphur, and phosphorus; and in certain cases, as in the red pigment of the blood, a seventh element, iron, is present also. They are chiefly valuable as foods because they supply us with the nitrogen necessary for tissue repair; they form the main constituents of protoplasm and living matter generally, and it is the changes they undergo in the living cells of the body which form the most important part of what we have just learnt to term metabolism. Studies directed to elucidate the problems they present are obviously of the highest value to the bio-chemist.

Animals do not possess the power of building these complex substances from the elements, but rely upon the proteins contained in vegetable tissues for this source of nutriment. Even carnivorous animals, who obtain them from the flesh of other animals, ultimately derive their protein supply from the plant world, for their animal prey is vegetarian in habit.

But the majority even of plants are not endowed with the ability to make use of the nitrogen of the air for the synthesis

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of protein. A few do so, and a knowledge of how they do it, and of how other plants may be induced to follow their example, is a practical problem for the future. If the ever-increasing population of the globe is to be fed some means will have to be devised for utilizing the limitless amount of free atmospheric nitrogen for the purpose of building up this most important of food stuffs. Botanical bio-chemists are applying themselves to this question, and have already obtained remarkable results in furthering this end.

But if plants do not under ordinary conditions utilize the elements, they can nevertheless build up protein from such simple materials as carbon dioxide, ammonia, and the nitrates and other salts in the soil. Chemists have devoted long years in attempts to imitate Nature in this direction, but up to the present complete success has not attended their efforts. Protein manufacture is still the monopoly of the living cells of the plant. When an animal ingests protein material, whether it comes from vegetable food or through the intermediation of the flesh of a vegetable-feeding animal, the digestive juices set to work to break it up into simpler materials. The digestive juices contain substances which are called ferments, and of these the pepsin of gastric juice is perhaps the most familiar. Of the chemical nature of ferments we know but little; we can merely see their effects, and these effects are produced without the ferment undergoing any change, so that a small amount of ferment will act on an unlimited amount of material. 'A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.' The study of ferment-action is being actively followed just now, and even the exact mathematical laws it obeys are being discovered. This is as it should be, for ferment action is the main agency at work not only in digestion, but in the subsequent assimilative and disintegrative changes which take place in the cells of the body.

It would lead us far beyond the scope of the present article even to outline the numerous generalizations already discovered in this relation; suffice it to say that the onward progress of knowledge concerning the processes of life both

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in health and disease is ultimately bound up with our ever-increasing acquaintance with the action of ferments.

Restricting ourselves to the one that has been mentioned we may, however, inquire, What is the particular action of the pepsin of the gastric juice? Pepsin may be taken as a type of the protein-splitting ferments. It cleaves the heavy molecules of the food protein first into the smaller molecules of peptone, and then the peptone is resolved into the still smaller molecules of readily soluble materials which soon soak through into the blood stream, from which they are picked up and utilized by the living cells for the construction of the proteins of living protoplasm.

We have already seen in the case of the sugars containing six atoms of carbon in their molecules, that there are many possibilities in the manner in which these atoms are linked to each other and to other elements. There are, as a matter of fact, thirty-two possible combinations, and most, if not all, of these have been already prepared by chemists, and some few of them are identical with the sugars found in Nature.

Now, the molecule of ordinary albumin contains as many as seven hundred atoms of carbon, and the possible modes of linkage must reach many thousands. This single fact will serve to shew the magnitude of the task a chemist has before him in the artificial construction of such a complex molecule. But the difficulty of the endeavour has not deterred investigators, and the one worker whose attempts bid fair to be successful is Dr. Emil Fischer, of Berlin.

The story, probably an apocryphal one, is told that when Fischer decided as a young man to devote his life to biochemistry there were three particular substances of which it was his desire to unravel the composition. One of these was sugar; the second was uric acid, a material which writers on gout have succeeded in making familiar even to the non-medical public. Both of these tasks he has accomplished. His third ambition was to make an egg, or, to put it less picturesquely, to understand the chemical basis (protein) of living material. This is the task which is now occupying his attention and that of an ever-increasing band of his disciples in the Berlin laboratory. Month by

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month the publications from this laboratory are being keenly watched, as the various stages in the herculean labour are leading up to the desired culmination.

Each carbon atom may be regarded with its satellite atoms of hydrogen, nitrogen, and other elements as a link in a long chain. Pepsin, as we have seen, is able to break up the chain first into the short lengths termed peptones, and finally the individual links are broken apart. The same cleavage can be accomplished by other reagents in the test-tubes of the chemist. The different proteins found in Nature are being steadily and industriously taken to pieces, and their component links identified and estimated; for accurate analysis must precede any attempt at synthesis. It has been discovered in the course of this work that all proteins are fortunately not so complex as albumin, and it is naturally the simplest which will be the first to be rebuilt from the sundered links. Already by the union of eighteen such links judiciously selected, and combined in appropriate order, products giving many of the reactions of the peptones have been constructed. In the Faraday Lecture which Professor Fischer recently delivered before the Chemical Society of London he gave a general survey of the progress he has made in this direction, and foreshadowed the promise of more to come. It is a mere truism to assert that a knowledge of the composition of living material will bridge across much of what is at present obscure in the life-processes of both animals and plants.

Among the simplest proteins which occur in Nature are those known as protamines, which are found in the roes of certain fishes. The atomic groups to which we have been alluding as links in a chain are comparatively scanty in these substances, and the accurate estimation of the quantity of each is now nearly accomplished; and there is no doubt that it will be such comparatively simple proteins which will be the earliest to appear in the test-tube. But, as Professor Fischer pointed out, there is another protein which bids fair to oust the protamines from their lowly place, and this is fibroin, the protein constituent of silk. Here also analytical knowledge is so far advanced as to

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justify an early attempt at synthesis. It is well known that artificial indigo has almost entirely replaced the natural product, and that the trade of the indigo planters has suffered in consequence. But there is no reason for the silk industry to take alarm at present, because it will be many years before artificial silk will replace the natural article, and the expense of producing even small quantities of it in the laboratory will also be prohibitive. Silkworms possess the secret of being able to produce it in large quantities easily and with little expense. Natural silk, moreover, is not pure fibroin: it is a mixture of that protein with other substances, one of which *Seidenleim*, or silk-gelatin, appears to be especially useful in conferring upon silk its lustre and cohesiveness.

Réaumur many years ago surmised that the substance of the spider's web is related closely to the product of the silkworm. This has been confirmed; spider silk and silkworm silk contain as their main constituent the same protein, fibroin. The silk of the large Madagascar spider has been obtained in sufficient quantities for the making of fabrics, and a lady's gown made of spider's silk was shewn at a recent exhibition in Paris. But again we do not think that the growers of silkworms need be alarmed, for silkworms can weave their skeins out of vegetable food; whereas spiders are carnivorous animals, and the meat used in their feeding is far too expensive to render the cultivation of the spider a successful commercial venture.

Not the least interesting of the ideas arising out of these considerations is again the marvellous superiority of the living laboratory as compared with that of the chemist. Here we have animals differing widely in metabolic habit and anatomical construction; nevertheless, secreting organs so different as the spinning pap of a spider and the silk glands of a caterpillar can form products which are essentially similar; and the adaptability of the living cell is so far reaching that what the one can make only from animal food, the other can manufacture from comparatively cheap vegetable matter.

This further is an illustration of the truth which is now

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accepted by biologists that in digestion a complete cleavage of the food stuffs into quite simple substances takes place. Each animal takes the links necessary for the construction of the living chains peculiar to itself; or, to vary the metaphor, it selects as bricks for the architecture of its living framework those specially suitable for that particular purpose, and so is enabled to retain its chemical individuality in spite of the variations in the composition of the raw unquarried material which it ingests in the form of food. Compared with this, the methods of the chemist, proud though he may justly be of the progress he has made in recent years, are comparatively crude, and it seems almost hopeless even at the present day that he will be able to imitate this power, and rival the adaptability which the cells of the body possess; but if any living chemist accomplishes the feat it is more probable to be our recent eminent visitor Professor Emil Fischer than anybody else.

The writer has purposely refrained in this article from discussing the question of spontaneous generation and the origin of life. These philosophical problems are not susceptible of experimental investigation, or at any rate experiment, so far as it has gone, has not succeeded in shewing that living matter originates from anything else than that which is already alive. The almost ludicrous attempts to produce living cells by the action of radium emanations on beef-tea have proved a complete fiasco. Whether the mystery of life consists in the possession of some specific form of energy or vital force, or whether so-called vital energy is only the same energy which operates in the organic world, but directed into another channel, or whether the future will teach us what life really is, or whether that must for ever remain in the realm of the unknowable, are all questions of the deepest and most fundamental kind. They will be answered in different ways by different people according to their preconceived ideas and habits of thought. In the present state of knowledge no one can assert, with any proof capable of convincing an opponent, that the one view or the other is correct.

We have preferred to deal with the subject in a more

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matter of fact way, and have endeavoured to present in language as free from technical expressions as possible something of what has really been accomplished in the realm of absolute knowledge, and to indicate the lines on which the pioneers are travelling. Solomon advised us to learn wisdom from the ant; we have seen that the silkworm, the spider, and the sugar-cane may also be brought into line in our endeavours to explore the secrets of Nature. And in the searching of the Scriptures, of which a still higher Authority spoke, the writer ventures to read not only the written records of the wise men of the past, but those which are inscribed in the rocks of the earth, and ingrained in the blood, flesh, and fibre of man, beast, creeping thing, and growing tree.

The present task of the physiologist is to investigate fearlessly and with a hopeful spirit, seeking the truth, unmindful of the limits of natural knowledge, and undeterred by the fear that life will ever remain a mystery. In biological research familiarity never breeds contempt; constant association even with the material substratum of vital activity leads to a respect and even reverence for the beauty and harmony of living matter which can be gained in no other way.

W. D. HALLIBURTON.

ART. VI.—THE PRIMITIVE FORM OF CONSECRATION OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

Liturgies Eastern and Western. I. Eastern Liturgies. By F. E. BRIGHTMAN, M.A. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1896.)

IT is very commonly said that there is a radical difference of opinion between the Eastern and Western portions of the Church as to the 'form,' *i.e.* the form of words, that must be used in the consecration of the holy Eucharist, the West in general regarding the consecration as effected by the use of the words of institution, the East regarding it as an answer to the prayer of invocation.

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In attempting to throw some light upon this question, let us note first that whatever difference of opinion has arisen is not so absolute as might at first be supposed, because few Eastern theologians would admit that a form of consecration without the words of institution was a proper form of consecration, even though they might perhaps regard it as sufficient; and, on the other hand, few Western theologians would consider as canonical a form of consecration without any prayer (such as '*quam oblationem*') that the elements may become the body and blood of Christ, though they might theoretically think it valid. Secondly, we must endeavour (for the purposes of this investigation, at least) to free our minds from the common idea that the words of institution are themselves the form of consecration, or indeed from any dogmatic theory as to what the form is; for this is just the point which we have to investigate, and to assume that the words of institution (or a prayer of invocation) is the appointed form would be to beg the question at the outset. The tendency to approach the consideration of liturgical questions from a hard-and-fast dogmatic standpoint has too often been a stumbling-block in the way of historical truth and a right understanding of the problems presented. In order to obtain fruitful results from any investigation of the kind it is an essential condition that we should begin by investigating the historical facts, putting on one side for the purposes of the investigation whatever dogmatic prepossessions or beliefs we may hold, and treating them as non-existent for the moment. And in the present case we should approach the history of the primitive form of consecration without any theory as to any one and only valid 'form,' but rather set ourselves to find out what form or forms were used in the early ages of the Church, and what is the earliest and most authentic tradition on the point; and then, if necessary, we must cut our dogmatic theory to fit the historical facts, instead of attempting to cut the facts to fit our theory. We therefore propose (so far as possible within a short compass) to give the results of an investigation into the earliest and most authentic forms of consecration of the Eucharist.

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Let us, then, enquire first—What light do the Scriptural accounts of the institution of the Eucharist throw on the form of consecration? In all the four accounts that have come down to us we are told that our Lord did three things with the bread: (*a*) He 'blessed' it, (*b*) He brake it, and (*c*) He distributed it to the communicants with the words '[Take, eat] this is my body'—*i.e.* He first consecrated it with a form of *thanksgiving*, the actual words of which are not recorded; secondly, He brake it for distribution; and, thirdly, He distributed it with a formula of administration which is recorded for us in slightly different versions. And so *mutatis mutandis* with the cup. To the Jews 'blessing' and 'thanksgiving' were synonymous, as may not only be seen in this instance by comparing the different accounts, but also from the liturgical forms of blessing in the Jewish liturgies, some of which are as old as our Lord's time. To 'bless' a thing was to bless God for it, and one common form of these blessings began 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the world, who hast,' etc. (see also 1 Cor. xiv. 16). In some cases these thanksgivings passed into a prayer. Thus all that we learn from the Scriptural accounts is that the form of consecration was a *thanksgiving*; and this fact renders it highly probable that St. Paul is alluding to the form of consecration of the Eucharist when in 1 Cor. xiv. 16 he speaks of the congregation responding 'Amen' to the thanksgiving pronounced by some one person. (The words 'This is my body,' 'This is my blood,' in whatever form they were used, were words of administration and not of consecration.)

After this preliminary consideration, let us turn to the primitive liturgies. In this investigation we must weigh the evidence of the liturgies *by families*, and not merely as individual liturgies; for in each family of liturgies (except the Gallican) we find one 'mother-liturgy' which is the original stock upon which all the other extant liturgies of the same family have been modelled.[1]

[1] The 'mother-liturgies' of the different families are: West Syrian, St. James (Greek and Syriac); Byzantine, St. Basil (Greek and Armenian); Egyptian, St. Mark (Greek and Coptic); East Syrian,

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And first we note that all liturgies of every type agree in bearing witness to the fact that the original form of consecration was a thanksgiving. In all the ancient liturgies we find one long devotional form, of which the consecration is part, which is preceded by the invitation 'Let us give thanks unto our Lord God,' and opens with such words as 'It is very meet, right and our bounden duty that we should at all times give thanks unto thee,' etc. In the Eastern liturgies the original character of this thanksgiving is preserved throughout, the blessings of our creation and the whole work of our redemption being commemorated in order, with the Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord, and finally the outpouring of the Holy Ghost upon the Church. The Sanctus comes in episodically in connexion with the mention of the creation of the angels; in connexion with the Passion is introduced the account of the institution of the Eucharist; in connexion with the Ascension is introduced the great oblation or pleading of Christ's sacrifice; and in connexion with the commemoration of the Pentecostal gift the thanksgiving passes into a prayer that God would send the Holy Ghost to make the bread and wine to become the body and blood of Christ. And in all the Eastern liturgies this order of the parts is the same: institution, oblation, invocation. As an example we will give the thanksgiving from the Liturgy of St. James, freely rendered and somewhat condensed and with the omission of the deacon's and people's responses and private devotions:

'It is very meet, right and our bounden duty that we should praise, bless, worship, glorify and give thanks to thee . . . whom the heavens hymn and all the hosts therein . . . the earth, the sea and all that is in them . . . the spirits of the righteous and the Prophets, the souls of martyrs and Apostles; angels, archangels, principalities, virtues, powers, Cherubim

SS. Addai and Mari; Western, none; Roman, Ordinary and Canon (without collects). There are exceptional instances in which a particular liturgy seems to be a kind of hybrid, derived from two different stocks. But this does not affect the argument.

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and Seraphim . . . crying one to another, chanting the loud hymn of praise and saying :—

'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth ; heaven and earth are full of thy glory : Hosanna in the highest. [Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord : Hosanna in the highest.][1]

'Holy art thou, Almighty God, all powerful yet long suffering and of great compassion towards thy creatures ; thou didst make man from the earth after thine image and likeness, and didst give him the bliss of Paradise ; and when he transgressed thy commandment and fell, thou didst not leave him desolate, but as a tender Father didst correct him ; calling him by the Law, teaching him by the Prophets, and lastly, sending forth into the world thine only begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, that he might come and renew and restore in us thine image : who came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary his mother ; and dwelt among men, accomplishing his work for man's salvation : who, when of his own free will he was about to endure that sinless death upon the cross which gave life to us sinners, in the night in which he was betrayed . . . took bread into his holy hands . . . gave thanks and blessed and brake it and gave it to his Apostles and disciples, saying Take eat, this is my body which is broken for you, and is given for the remission of sins.

'Likewise also having mixed after supper the cup with wine and water, he gave thanks and blessed and gave it to his disciples saying, Drink ye all of it ; this is my blood of the New Covenant which is shed for you and for many and is given for the remission of sins. Do this in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye shew forth my death and confess my resurrection till I come.

'Commemorating therefore his death and resurrection from the dead, his ascension into heaven and his sitting at thy right hand, and looking for his glorious and dread coming again to render to every man according to his works, we offer unto thee, O Lord, this tremendous and unbloody sacrifice, beseeching thee that thou wouldest not deal with us after our sins, neither reward us according to our . . . iniquities ; but wouldest vouchsafe to send upon us and upon these gifts set forth before thee . . . thy most Holy Ghost . . . who descended upon thy holy Apostles . . . on the day of Pentecost . . . that coming upon them . . . he may make this bread the body of thy Christ,

[1] *Vide infra*, p. 401.

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and this cup the blood of thy Christ, that they may be to all who partake of them for remission of sins and eternal life. . . . Through,' etc.

We must examine the prayer which concludes the thanksgiving (generally called the invocation) a little more closely, with the variants of it in the different liturgical families.

1. *The West Syrian Family.*—The mother-liturgy of this group can be shewn to come down from the fifth century, substantially unchanged in the important parts, and there is abundant corroborative evidence to shew that so far as relates to the invocation the form has not varied substantially since the fourth century, and was then a traditional element of unknown antiquity.[1] In this liturgy the invocation consists of a prayer to God the Father—

(*a*) that He would send the Holy Spirit

(*b*) upon us,

(*c*) and upon the gifts,

(*d*) that He may make them the body and blood of Christ,

(*e*) that the sacrament may be to those who receive it for sanctification of body and soul.

All these points (except *b*) are corroborated exactly by the fourth-century liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions; and the general substance of the prayer by St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Chrysostom.[2]

2. *The Byzantine Family.*—The Byzantine liturgies (of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom) are often classed in the West Syrian group of liturgies; but some of the best authorities now prefer to class them in a family by themselves. In any case the general structure of the invocation in these liturgies agrees almost exactly with that of the West Syrian family; but there is an additional clause (*f*), 'changing them by thy Holy Spirit.'

3. *The East Syrian Family.*—The mother-liturgy of this family has come down to us in a state from which it is very

[1] *Cf.* St. Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, xxvii. 66.

[2] See appendices to Brightman's *Liturgies Eastern and Western.*

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difficult to draw any certain conclusions. The words of institution are absent altogether, and the invocation consists only of clauses of similar purport to (*a*), (*c*), and (*e*) above, without (*b*) or (*d*). But the later liturgies of the family contain both the words of institution and the clause (*d*); and a very old MS. (sixth century) of a liturgy of this rite contains the words of institution followed by a full form of invocation of the same general purport as those of the West Syrian rite. Moreover, the form which the anaphora of the mother-liturgy at present exhibits is so artificial that an air of suspicion surrounds it.[1]

4. *The Egyptian Family.*—As in the West Syrian group, the chief parts of the mother-liturgy of this group can be shewn to date back to the fifth century; and it is connected with the fourth century by the liturgy of Sarapion, and (somewhat later) by allusions in the Egyptian Fathers. In the form of invocation in this liturgy we find all the parts (*a*) (*b*) (*c*) (*d*) (*e*). In the invocation of the liturgy of Sarapion the 'Word' is invoked upon the oblations instead of the Holy Spirit. It has been suggested that Sarapion may be using the term 'Logos' for the Holy Spirit; but, in any case, the invocation (which is in the usual position

[1] The structure of the East Syrian 'Great Thanksgiving' seems very artificial. It is divided into three *Cushapa* and three *Gehantha*, which are said alternately; the first *Cushapa* is an evident interpolation, the second and third are probably the same, although of great antiquity. The first *Gehantha* ends with the Sanctus, the second and third with a *Kanuna* or exclamation (apparently intended as a kind of parallel to the Sanctus), and to each the people respond 'Amen.' The first *Gehantha* is addressed to God (the Holy Trinity), the second to our Lord, and the third to God the Father. The crucial clause (*d*) is absent from the invocation; but the words of institution are likewise absent from the MSS., and the customary method of inserting them from 1 Cor. xi. cannot be right because the *Gehantha* in which they occur is addressed to our Lord, as is the case in some other liturgies. Consequently, if intended to be used, the scribes must have refrained of set purpose from writing them down; in which case it is equally probable that they refrained in like manner from writing down the crucial words of the invocation. In any case we can build but little on this liturgy. On the other hand, the form of the invocation in the later liturgies of this family has probably been inspired from Byzantium.

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after the words of institution) is a prayer that the Word may come upon the elements, that the bread may become the body of the Word, and the cup may become the blood of the Truth,' etc. The Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons (? fourth century) bear clear witness to an invocation of the Holy Ghost on the elements that He may make them to be the body and blood of Christ.[1]

The question will now be asked—What is the *rationale* of this form of consecration? How are we to understand its signification? We should prefer to reply—What need of any *rationale*? This is the ancient traditional form, of unknown antiquity even in the fourth century, and behind it we cannot get. Let us trust it rather than explain it. But even the Easterns have been obliged to take some steps towards a *rationale*: the question will be asked and an answer must therefore be attempted; but in answering it our aim should be to fit our explanation to the facts of the tradition, and not to explain the traditional form so as to make it suit an *a priori* dogmatic theory that the words of institution are themselves the 'form' of consecration. On examining these forms of consecration in the Eastern liturgies, without any preconceived opinion or adventitious aid, it would appear that the words of institution were not recited as of themselves effecting the consecration, but rather *as the authority in obedience to which the rite is performed*. The priest recites the account of our Lord's deeds and words at the institution, and then proceeds to some such effect as this: 'Therefore we, according to His command, present unto thee these thy gifts.' Pleading thus the command of Christ, he proceeds to obey this command, at the same time designating the particular elements which are to be used for the purpose; and he then

[1] In the Egyptian rite there is a parenthetical clause of prayer for the fulfilling of the sacrifice by the Holy Ghost just before the words of institution in the Great Thanksgiving. This interrupts for a moment the general movement of the thanksgiving; it is apparently an early instance of the common tendency to introduce clauses of prayer into thanksgivings, which may be noticed in the Western liturgies in increasing proportions until in some of the later Mozarabic Masses the thanksgiving has been almost entirely changed into a prayer.

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completes the action by beseeching God by His Holy Spirit to make these creatures the body and blood of Christ according to Christ's own word. The people join in his action by saying 'Amen,' and the consecration is accepted by faith as wrought by God in answer to the prayer of priest and people. The whole action is intelligible and clear; and it would appear quite as consonant with the general dispensation of grace as set forth in the New Testament to believe that the supernatural gift is bestowed *in answer to prayer* as to think of it as brought about by *the pronunciation of a formula*—and especially when the formula has no authority for this purpose from Holy Scripture, the words of institution being given in the New Testament as words of administration and not of consecration.

Turn now to the West. In the Western portion of the Church the liturgical phenomena are different from those of the East. We find two rites in use in the early centuries—the Roman, then a purely local rite, used only (so far as our evidence shews) in the city of Rome and perhaps also in the immediate neighbourhood; and the other, called Gallican, Gothic, Mozarabic, Celtic, in different localities, but really one and the same rite, and used over the whole of the West with the exception of Rome, so that it might fitly be called the Western or European rite.[1] We must

[1] There is no evidence that the Roman liturgy was used outside the immediate neighbourhood of Rome before St. Augustine's arrival in England, although the book *de Sacramentis* and certain notices shew that it had begun to influence other rites in the fifth century. On the contrary the evidence of liturgical allusions (so far as they are conclusive) agrees with the 'Gallican' rite as against the Roman for Spain, France, the Celtic Church, and also in North Italy. In Africa the same may be said, except that the Pax had apparently the Roman position.

The problem of the 'origin' of the Gallican liturgy is an imaginary difficulty. There was no 'introduction' of it into Gaul, since it was the *original* liturgy of the country. Consequently all attempts to find a date for its 'introduction' into an already Christian Gaul, such as we find in the ingenious hypothesis of Mgr. Duchesne, to whom all liturgical students owe so much, are quite unnecessary. It is needless to imagine any previous liturgy which was displaced in favour of the Gallican; and very difficult to conceive the idea of the Roman liturgy

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consider first the liturgies of this rite, not only as being the general rite of the West in early times but also because we shall get a false conception of these liturgies if we view them from the standpoint of the Roman rite.

The effect of this unfortunate standpoint is to be seen in the ordinary remark that the Gallican liturgy is distinguished by the great number of its variable parts: the truth being that the *whole* of each Mass is variable, with the exception of the constant framework, so that, in reality, each Mass of this rite is a separate liturgy, and a Gallican or Mozarabic missal is a collection of liturgies of that rite much as the liturgies of an Eastern rite are collected into one service-book. But here we note the cardinal difference between such a collection of liturgies in East and West. In an Eastern rite every liturgy might be used on any day in the year: there is nothing in the wording of any liturgy to mark its appropriation to any particular day or season; but in the West, while there are still some masses that, like an Eastern liturgy, would suit any day, there are others that are appropriate only to Sundays (*Missae Dominicales*), and each of the great festivals and the principal saints' days is provided with a liturgy which, by reason of the wording of its prayers and thanksgivings, is suitable to that particular day alone. It will no doubt be generally conceded that these liturgies adapted for special days or seasons mark an innovation upon the primitive type; but even among those Masses which were not composed for special days there does not appear to be any 'mother-liturgy' which has been the model for the rest—probably because there was no one city that was looked up to as the liturgical centre of the rite.[1] Now what do we find as to

as originally dominant over a great part of the West, then displaced in favour of the Gallican, and lastly brought back again by degrees and finally retaking possession.

[1] We would not absolutely deny the possibility of an original identity between the liturgies of Rome and the West, nor the possibility that the Western liturgy was originally carried from Rome to the West. But in this case (1) the liturgy must have been derived from Rome at a period when the liturgical usages were entirely fluid and had not yet crystallized into different rites; and (2) the Roman liturgy must have

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the form of consecration in these Masses? In many of the Masses, especially the earlier ones, we find a form of consecration very similar to that of the Eastern rites, an historical account of the institution of the Eucharist introduced in its usual place in the 'Great Thanksgiving,' followed by an *anamnesis* or 'Great Oblation,' and then by an invocation of the Holy Spirit to effect the consecration. But the language of these invocations is very varied; it is often ambiguous, and capable of being understood either as a prayer for the sacramental change in the elements or as assuming that this change has already taken place; and in many Masses (generally the later ones) the invocation has disappeared and often the *anamnesis* also. The phenomena of the case point clearly to the fact (1) that the original type of these Masses included an invocation and a form of consecration closely resembling the general Eastern type, and (2) that the invocation has been whittled away and finally discarded under the influence of a doctrinal prepossession. The idea grew up that the consecration was effected by the words of institution alone, and the natural consequence was an objection to a prayer for the sacramental change after the words of institution.

In an article in the *Church Quarterly Review* for January 1907 an attempt has been made to recover the original traditional form of invocation in this rite. It is pointed out that a considerable number of the remaining forms of

undergone considerable alterations since that time. It is certainly startling to find (so far as the literary evidence shews) how absolutely imperceptible was the influence of the Roman rite on the West *during the formative period of the rites*: all the evidence derived from the rites themselves seems to point not to an original influence from Rome but to an original independence followed by a *later* borrowing from the Roman rite and consequent modification of a rite which was originally independent of it. For example, in Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Milan we find lesson-systems markedly on the same lines; but in Rome a lesson-system on lines markedly different. In a similar way note the difference of character between the Roman (and Benedictine) monastic services and those of which we read in Cassian or the other ancient rules. We should expect to find the 'mother-liturgy' of the West in the Roman rite; but (although it is strange to find it so) the evidence does not seem to point in this direction.

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invocation seem to be all derived from one normal type, viz. a prayer to God the Father to send the Holy Spirit upon the offered gifts 'that this sacrifice may become unto us the true body and blood of thy dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ,' and that in one of the remaining forms[1] this has been altered by changing 'that it may become' into 'which is,' and in several other instances the words 'that it may become' are left, but the invocation is toned down by changing 'the true body and blood' etc. into the phrase '*legitima eucharistia.*'[2] The correctness of this contention seems to be established by the fact that one instance remains in which the scribe has substituted *legitima eucharistia* for *verum corpus, but has forgotten to delete the remaining words 'et verus sanguis'*![3] A good number of other extant

[1] 'Recitatis Domine Unigeniti tui sacramentorum praeceptis simulque praeclarae passionis et resurrectionis et in caelum ascensionis memoriam facientes, maiestatem tuam supplices rogamus ac petimus ut, in his sacrificiis benedictionum tuarum plenitudo descendat, et infundas in eis imbrem Spiritus tui Sancti de caelis; ut fiat hoc sacrificium secundum ordinem Melchisedech; fiat hoc sacrificium secundum Patriarcharum et Prophetarum tuorum; ut quod ab illis typice facientibus, Unigeniti Filii tui significantibus adventum, tua maiestas acceptare dignata est, sic hoc sacrificium respicere et sanctificare digneris: *quod est* verum corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Iesu Christi Filii tui, qui pro nobis omnibus factus est sacerdos et hostia. Hanc itaque hostiam tu, piissime Pater, de tuae claritatis respectu sanctifica; ut sumentibus eam et hic delictorum veniam et aeternam in caelis conferas vitam.' *M. Mos. Dom. V. in XL.*

[2] E.g. 'Haec igitur praecepta servantes sacrosancta munera nostrae salutis offerimus, obsecrantes te, clementissime omnipotens Deus, ut infundere digneris Spiritum tuum Sanctum super haec solemnia [*or* praelibamina] ut fiat nobis legitima eucharistia in tuo Filiique tui nomine et Spiritus Sancti benedicta, in transformatione eiusdem corporis [ac sanguinis] Domini nostri Iesu Christi [Unigeniti] Filii tui, edentibus nobis vitam aeternam regnumque perpetuum [collatura bibituris]. Te praestante, &c.' *M. Mos. St. Christina: M. Goth. in Cath. St. Petri.*

[3] 'Deus, qui hanc sacratissimam noctem per beatae Mariae sacrae Virginis partum ... veri Luminis fecisti illustratione clarescere; da nobis quaesumus ut cuius lucis mysterium in terra cognovimus eius quoque gaudiis in caelo perfruamur. Ex his quoque sacris libaminibus odor ad te suavitatis ascendat, atque in his benedictio a te copiosa descendat; ut per mysterium tuae operationis fiat nobis eucharistia legitima *et verus sanguis* in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti in saecula saeculorum. Amen.' *Caius College fragment for Vigil of Christmas.*

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invocations bear the appearance of having been altered from a typical form like this, and the remaining instances of invocations are so various and intentionally ambiguous in meaning that they appear to be individual attempts at the composition of new forms of invocation which should evade the difficulty, and therefore cannot be considered to represent any other traditional type of invocation.

The general conclusion, therefore, appears to be that the early liturgies of this rite possessed an invocation generally similar in purport and position to those of the Eastern liturgies; and if the contention described above be accepted as to the original and traditional form of this invocation, then we can assert that it contained the elements of the Greek invocation denominated (*a*) (*c*) (*d*) above, and it is possible, though not certain, that (*e*) was included also.

Let us consider lastly the Roman liturgy. In early ages this liturgy was used over a very limited area—probably, indeed, only in the city and immediate environs of Rome—and it witnesses itself to its own extremely 'local' character. In liturgical matters the city of Rome cultivated a proud isolation from the rest of the Christian world, with rare and exceptional occasions of rather uncritical borrowing and innovation. The Roman rite, accordingly, when compared with other rites, presents an altogether exceptional and abnormal character. In the Roman Missal we do not find one liturgy or Mass invariable throughout (or a few of such) as in an Eastern rite; nor do we find a collection of complete liturgies as in the rite in general use in the Western Church; but we find a kind of compromise, neither one thing nor the other, viz. a liturgy which is partly one and partly many, or (as we now say) part fixed and part variable, the most important part (the 'Great Thanksgiving') being fixed, though with a certain number of variable sections and clauses; but with a great variety of sets of collects, which take the place of the variable Masses of the general Western rite, and are arranged according to the liturgical days of the ecclesiastical year and calendar.

It may be presumed (at least as a working hypothesis) that the Roman Ordinary and Canon (we shall use the

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latter word in its older sense to include the 'Preface') represent the traditional liturgy of the city, and that the variable prefaces and collects were later additions—a concession to the Western spirit, which revelled in proper Masses for every possible occasion, but a concession granted without superseding the principal portion of the traditional liturgy.

What do we find, then, when we compare the Roman Canon with the 'Great Thanksgiving' in other liturgies? We find a close parallelism in the principal portions, but this parallelism obscured by the intrusion of other devotional elements which break the connexion of thought and have every appearance of being out of their original position in the liturgy. It is now recognized by some of the best liturgical scholars—and especially among the learned Benedictines[1]—that a large part of the portion between the Sanctus and the words of institution is a relic of the ancient diptychs, and probably belonged originally to the offertory. We would go one step farther and suggest the possibility that the whole of this part of the Canon is out of its original position, whether that position be the offertory or elsewhere. It is further the opinion of the same authorities that the paragraphs at the end of the Canon '*memento etiam*' and '*nobis quoque peccatoribus*' are also no part of the original Canon. The remainder of the Canon (if some such connecting link is supplied between the Sanctus and the words of institution, as '*Vere Sanctus, vere benedictus Dominus noster Iesus Christus*')[2] would (though meagre) exhibit an exactly parallel structure to that of the 'Great Thanksgiving' in other rites. There would, indeed, be no mention of the Creation, nor of the redemptive work of our Lord before the words of institution, but then neither do we find mention of these in the present form of the Roman Canon, nor in many of the Gallican Masses. The form of consecration would consist of the words of institution, an *anamnesis* (*unde et memores* and *supra quae*) followed by a prayer (*supplices te*

[1] See Dom Cagin in *Paléographie Musicale*, tom. v. Introduction; and Abbot Cabrol, *Origines Liturgiques*, Appendix I.

[2] *Vide infra*, p. 402.

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rogamus) for the divine intervention in the rite. But can this prayer be regarded as an invocation? Mgr. Duchesne contends that it is to be so considered, and there is a good deal to be said for the view that it was intended to be so regarded; but the purport of the prayer is entirely different, and it appears to us that the true parallels to this prayer are to be found among those other Western quasi-invocations, which we have reason to think are not original but later forms composed expressly to replace invocations of the traditional type in order to avoid an explicit consecratory prayer after the words of institution—forms which, though making use of high-sounding language, could yet be used by men who had adopted the idea that the use of Christ's words was the effective form of consecration, and therefore believed that the consecration was effected before the invocation was reached. We cannot suppose that this new theory of the Eucharistic consecration could be spread throughout the West without reaching Rome; and this granted, it would be extremely unscientific to attribute similar effects to different causes; consequently it would seem probable in itself that this prayer *supplices te rogamus*—like the similar forms in the other Western liturgies—is not the original prayer of invocation, but has been substituted for the original invocation in the liturgy.

But if *supplices te* is not the original invocation, what was the original form of this prayer?

There is a circumstance which seems to point definitely to the fact that at one time the Roman Canon, or at least the form of consecration, was of a similar character to those in the other primitive liturgies. In the old Roman baptismal service (as found in both Gregorian and Gelasian Sacramentaries) the *consecratio fontis* is evidently modelled on the Eucharistic Canon. It commences with *Sursum Corda* and the following versicles, and continues *Vere dignum*, etc. It is a thanksgiving, in which the various Old Testament types of baptism are commemorated in order, and the whole concludes thus: 'per Iesum Christum . . . Dominum

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nostrum qui . . . discipulis suis iussit ut credentes baptizarentur in te dicens,

[*Institution*] Ite docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

[*Anamnesis*] Haec nobis praecepta servantibus, tu Deus omnipotens clemens adesto, etc. . . .[1]

[*Invocation*] Descendat in hanc plenitudinem fontis virtus Spiritus tui et totam huius aquae substantiam regenerandi fecundet effectu . . .

In this form of consecration of the font we find a clear parallel to the consecration of the Eucharist, but the form and order of the constituent parts is—words of institution followed by an *anamnesis*, and this by an invocation of the Holy Spirit. Consequently we must conclude that at the time when this *consecratio fontis* was composed the Eucharistic consecration in the Roman rite was also of the same type, viz. words of institution followed by an *anamnesis*, and these by an invocation of the Holy Spirit to effect the consecration; and thus at this early period the Eucharistic consecration in the Roman Mass was of the same type as that of the other primitive rites.[2]

But it may be urged, 'Do you consider that the Eastern

[1] Compare the Post Mysterium from the *Missa in Cathedra St. Petri Apostoli* in Missale Gothicum, given in note 2 on p. 396, 'Haec igitur praecepta servantes, sacrosancta munera nostrae salutis offerimus,' etc.

[2] It has been suggested by a very learned friend that this *benedictio fontis* is a composite piece made up of several prayers. This may be so, as it does not appear to be all of a piece; but the fact that bits of this thanksgiving are found as separate prayers in other rites is not sufficient to prove it. In such a case the presumption is always that the other rite borrowed a bit from the Roman and made a prayer out of it; and this thanksgiving is very well attested in the Roman rite. There is no Roman Sacramentary from the Gelasian downwards without it, or with any different *benedictio* that can be supposed to be Roman, the Leonine not having anything to correspond.

But even if this *benedictio* be composite, the point will be proved if it be allowed that the portion beginning '*Haec nobis praecepta*' down to '*fecundet effectu*,' is genuine. For the first words of this portion presuppose a recital in some form of the words of institution of this sacrament, and thus we should still find the institution, *anamnesis*, and invocation in the usual order.

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type of the Great Thanksgiving is really the earliest form? The elaborate historical order of the events commemorated, does not this look like the result of a process of development, rather than an original form which has suffered degradation later in the West? And the theological terms of the wording of it—and particularly the wording of the Invocation—do not these imply a theological atmosphere suited to, say, the fourth century, but by no means to the second? And, on the contrary, is not the theological language of the Roman Canon quite compatible with a second-century origin?' There is a great deal of truth in such a contention. It is obvious that the Great Thanksgivings of the principal Eastern liturgies have been expanded, and their theological language modified as a result of the theological discussions of various epochs; and this is especially noticeable with respect to the invocation of the Holy Spirit. In our free rendering of the Great Thanksgiving from the Liturgy of St. James we have endeavoured to reduce the fifth-century form to an earlier shape, and to give a rough (a very rough) approximation to what may be supposed to have been its form in the fourth century. *The alteration is not in the general scope or purport of the thanksgiving*, but only *in the theological terms*; and we see no reason to think that previously to the fourth century there had ever been any fundamental alteration in the scope or meaning of the thanksgiving, although it may have very probably been expanded at certain points, and the theological language 'brought up to date.' For example, it seems intrinsically probable that the very beautiful commemoration of God's dealing with man in the Law and by the Prophets dates from some era subsequent to the Apostolic Age, and this idea is borne out by the (practically) total absence of similar commemorations in the Western liturgies.

The addition of the *Benedictus qui venit* to the Sanctus in the Eastern liturgies is obviously an innovation,[1] and almost certainly an importation from the West. For in

[1] Compare the Clementine Liturgy. It is quite possible that the Sanctus itself was not general in, say, the second century, but spread from one liturgical centre until it was adopted in all rites.

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these liturgies the sequence of thought is broken by the Benedictus, and its reference to our Lord is entirely unconnected with either the preceding or the following clauses. In the Western liturgies, on the contrary, the Benedictus is followed by such words as *Vere sanctus, vere benedictus Dominus noster Jesus Christus qui*, etc., and the Thanksgiving proceeds to the commemoration of our Lord's work. The use of *Benedictus qui venit* demands a continuation having reference to our Lord; and such a continuation leaves no room for any mention of the Law and the Prophets after the Sanctus. We cannot be certain that there was no mention of the Law and the Prophets in the West *before* the Sanctus, but, if so, we should have expected to find more distinct terms of it in existing Masses, and particularly in the Roman 'Prefaces.'

The same may be said of the detailed reference to our Lord's Passion,[1] Resurrection, Ascension, and the sending of the Holy Spirit: the general absence of this from the Western liturgies (along with a consideration of intrinsic probability) offers a fair presumption that such detailed reference is an early development. Again, the theological language of what may be considered the typical form of the Eastern invocation (above, p. 389) may very probably be not earlier than the fourth century, but (if this be granted) it is a *non-sequitur* to argue from this *that there was no prayer of similar purport* in Eastern liturgies of the second (or third) century. If there was at an earlier period an earlier and universal type of this prayer, it may well be that this is to be found in the form which we take to embody the original Gallican tradition (above, p. 396), viz. a prayer to God to *send His Holy Spirit upon the sacrifice that it may become* [*unto us*] *the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.* Is there anything in the terms of such a prayer inconsistent with the atmosphere of the second century? It may even be possible (although it does not appear prob-

[1] The actual quotation of the 'words of institution' cannot be excepted from this possibility; even the commemoration of the fact of the institution of the sacrament did not always involve the introduction of the actual words 'This is.'

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able to the writer) that a yet earlier form contained no explicit mention of the Holy Spirit, but only a petition (similar to '*quam oblationem*' of the Roman Canon) *that the sacrifice may become unto us* the body and blood of Christ. There may be good reason for considering the theological language of, say, the Liturgy of St. James as a developed theological language, but there is none for considering that the use of *some* prayer to the same effect is an innovation of the fourth century, nor for supposing that the general order of the parts of the consecration—words of institution, *anamnesis*, invocation—is anything but the original and primitive order of the parts. The Roman Canon ought to weigh very little to the contrary, for (1) it can hardly be denied that there have been transpositions and interpolations in it of some kind, so that the order of the parts is already 'suspect'; (2) though the language of much of it is doubtless of a very early type, yet the same doubt which attaches to the age of the historical commemorations of the Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord in the Eastern liturgies, attaches with equal force to the Roman '*unde et memores*'; (3) the wording of '*supplices te rogamus*' suits just as well with the idea that it is a later substitution for the original invocation, strictly parallel to other substituted forms; and (4) if the actual prayer '*quam oblationem*' was itself this original invocation, it may very well have been transferred to its present position at the same time that it was displaced from its original position by the prayer '*supplices te.*'

What is the general conclusion to be drawn from the above? It appears to be highly probable that at a very early date the traditional form of consecration of the Eucharist in all Christian rites was of the same general character as that now found in the Eastern liturgies, viz. words of institution, *anamnesis*, and prayer of invocation, but that the West (from a somewhat later period) began to depart from that traditional form. At the very least we cannot be certain that the Roman form of consecration has *not* been altered from an earlier form similar to the

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Eastern forms. While there is no reason to doubt the primitive character of the Eastern order, there is no reason to depend on the Roman order. In any case we cannot think that the Roman '*supplices te*' represents an earlier tradition than the Greek; nor that it is at all probable that the primitive position of the prayer of invocation (whatever was its original form) was *before* the words of institution. The earliest definite traditional form that we possess is that of the Eastern liturgies, and this form probably represents, with only unimportant changes in the wording but not in the meaning, the oecumenical tradition of the early ages.

W. C. BISHOP.

ART. VII.—THE THEOLOGY OF THE KESWICK CONVENTION.

1. *The Keswick Convention: Its Message, Its Method, and Its Men.* Edited by CHARLES F. HARFORD, M.A., M.D. (London: Marshall Brothers, n. d. [1907].)
2–3. *The Keswick Week*, for 1905 and 1907. (London: Marshall Brothers.)
4. *Unclaimed Privileges.* By EVAN H. HOPKINS. (London: Marshall Brothers, 1900.)
5. *Hymns of Consecration and Faith.* Newly edited by MRS. EVAN HOPKINS. (London: Marshall Brothers, n. d.).

THE first of these books is an historical and descriptive account of the Convention held every summer at Keswick, written by some of the principal leaders and speakers in a series of twenty independent articles. Its editor is a son of the late Canon Harford-Battersby, formerly Vicar of Keswick, the founder of the Convention. The book contains papers by the Bishop of Durham, the Revs. H. W. Webb-Peploe, E. W. Moore, J. Elder Cumming, A. T. Pierson, Evan H. Hopkins, and Dr. Griffith Thomas, Messrs. A. Head, Eugene Stock, and other clergymen and laymen. The second and third are full reports, nearly all corrected by their respective speakers, of the addresses delivered at the

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Conventions of 1905 and 1907. The fourth is a little book of ninety-two small pages, dealing with the topic which is the main subject and purpose of the Convention, and the last is the Convention hymn-book.

Between thirty and forty years ago, as we learn from Dr. Harford's book, frequent conferences were being held, both in this country and in America, to consider how Christian people might best attain to mastery over sin and to holiness of life. The further back we trace the converging lines of causation, the more complex they seem to become. It will be enough, therefore, to begin at this point, as more detailed historical enquiry would need an article to itself. Conferences at Mildmay, and in other parts of London, at Barnet, and at Perth, Dublin, Manchester, Nottingham, Leicester, Stroud and other places are mentioned, including several in the United States. One of the last is described as 'the prototype of that at Oxford' in 1874, which was the immediate cause of the first at Keswick in the following year. In 1873 several small gatherings were held in London. In 1874 Conferences met at several of the places mentioned, and from August 29 to September 7 there took place the Oxford Conference, or 'Union Meeting for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness,' at which about a thousand people were present. This was due to the initiative of Sir Arthur Blackwood, who had been at the Convention in July of the same year at Broadlands Park, Romsey, the seat of the Rt. Hon. W. Cowper-Temple, afterwards Lord Mount Temple. The topic announced for discussion at Broadlands was:—'The Scriptural possibilities of faith in the life of the Christian in the daily walk, (*a*) as to maintained communion with God; and (*b*) as to victory over all known sin.' The Oxford Conference was followed by one in Brighton Pavilion, at which about eight thousand people were present. Canon Harford-Battersby was at Oxford and at Brighton, and received great spiritual help at the former meeting. Desiring to give his parishioners the same, he arranged at Brighton to hold in Keswick the Convention of July 1875, which was the first of the series held there every summer since.

For thirty-three years this Convention has met annually

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among the hills and lakes of Cumberland, assembling from all parts of this country and from many others. Many of its leaders are able and eminent men to whose opinions we are bound to listen with respect. It was founded and is chiefly maintained by Churchpeople, but many others are to be seen both on platform and on floor. The two great tents in which the meetings are held bear, inside and out, a large motto, 'All one in Christ Jesus.' This union of various forms of Christianity is characteristic of Keswick; and while on the one hand it is a source of strength, on the other, as we shall try to shew, it is perhaps a greater source of weakness, because of the limitations it imposes. The same characteristic of the Convention is seen to some extent also in the two volumes of addresses. There are diversities of opinion, though not very many appear, and there are differences of exposition and exegesis; but all are intended to promote one object and to urge one doctrine, which is so characteristic of the Convention that the particular aspect of it put forward there is called by many people 'the Keswick Teaching.' It is by this that Keswick claims to be judged, and it is this, therefore, that we propose to discuss, in itself and in the way in which Keswick presents it to us in relation to the 'first principles of Christ.' We shall add a few brief criticisms and indicate certain omissions which seem to us to be serious, but with these exceptions we shall confine our thoughts to this central doctrine, alike for the sake of unity of treatment, in regard to exigency of space, and in deference to the claim made by the Bishop of Durham on p. 67 of Dr. Harford's book, 'Many great topics of the spiritual life are handled at every Keswick Convention. But not all of them are distinctive of its special message, as I understand it; and not all who take the teacher's or witness' part there are agreed on all these other topics. Those aspects of the Biblical doctrine of Holiness on which essential agreement is sure, and is general there, can alone be rightly called Keswick Teaching. And I think that those aspects can all be summed up under the one short phrase "Holiness by Faith."' Dr. Moule goes on to say, (1) that this doctrine is no substitute

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for Justification by Faith, but presupposes it; (2) that it does not contradict the inviolable claims of discipline and diligence or discredit the call to watch, to pray, to 'keep under the body and bring it into subjection,' to explore and ponder the Scriptures, to use public worship, 'and in particular the Holy Communion of the Lord's Body and Blood,' and Church fellowship; (3) that behind and within all these the inmost action of the soul, in the matter of Holiness, is Faith. Further, he lays stress on 'the present possibilities of this life of faith.' Keswick, he tells us, has been preserved 'from ever formulating, as its authentic message, a dream of "sinlessness" . . . deeply at variance' with its true spirit; but it has always said that the believer is to expect victory, not defeat, and 'to expect to be, in an ever truer completeness, "a vessel sanctified, and meet for the Master's use."' In explaining the expression, 'Holiness by Faith,' Dr. Moule defines *holiness* as, 'the state of character, and of life, conditioned by surrender to the Will of God, and by a conformity to that Will resulting from the surrender.' *Faith* is 'Reliance . . . Trust reposed upon Another . . . the attitude of quiet confidence in Him.' Such, in brief, is the 'Keswick Teaching' in its best and highest form. It is the life of the obedience of faith—of quiet confidence which is the means, and only means, of the indwelling of Christ in the heart (Eph. iii. 14–19), which is no more *obtained* by self-discipline and effort than justification is obtained by good works.

To complete the definition of the doctrine of the Convention a particular aspect of it must be noted which is vitally associated with it wherever Keswick is known. This is the possibility of entering suddenly, if we may so speak (the word is used by Dr. Moule in almost exactly this connexion), on this life of faith. 'Have you got the blessing?' was a question often asked in the early days of the Convention. This aspect is especially urged by the Rev. Evan H. Hopkins, who describes the whole doctrine as 'the main purpose of our Convention,' and expounds it very clearly in an address on 'Sanctification, both Immediate and Progressive,' delivered in 1905 and published in

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The Keswick Week for that year. This address may be set beside Dr. Moule's article, and the two together give us a full and official definition of the Keswick doctrine. Mr. Hopkins tells us that the character of conformity to Christ is built up by slow growth, like the athletic character of a great runner; and that there is a previous process necessary which is not of slow growth. When a man's ankle is dislocated he cannot run or be trained to run. If that is put right his condition is such that the character of an athlete can be exercised or developed. In like manner Consecration need not be a thing of slow growth, and is a necessary preliminary to Sanctification, which is so. Consecration is defined as consisting of self-examination, renunciation of sin, giving oneself to God, and being accepted by God (p. 68); and it is presented as a thing to be done once for all, though it may afterwards be deepened. This self-surrender it is which forms the 'crisis in the life,' the 'getting the blessing,' the 'new conversion,' of Keswick; and to many it has been an experience meriting these phrases. The Rev. Harrington C. Lees quotes [1] an expression of Dr. Moule's that it is 'a crisis with a view to a process.' This self-surrender and its subsequent deepening, or extension, are likened by Mr. Hopkins to the giving of a present, which is instantaneous, and conveying the gift to the recipient's use, which may be gradual; and he adds in italics, '*you cannot believe till the will is right.*'

We see, then, that Keswick teaches that after a person has by faith apprehended the forgiveness of sin and is justified, there remains a further step to take; that this step consists of a surrender once for all of the will to God, followed and maintained by an attitude of quiet confidence in God, the means of our character being gradually brought into a state of conformity to God's Will suitable to such surrender; and that thenceforward strenuous self-discipline and effort, and public and private means of grace (being 'heaven-given and heaven-commanded' [2]) are given life and success by this quiet confidence; the Holy Ghost being

[1] *Keswick Convention*, p. 180. [2] Moule, *Ibid.* p. 69.

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given through prayer and this self-surrender and quiet confidence, and enabling us through this faith and by these efforts to do that which alone we could not do—to overcome sin and to increase in holiness.

It is to express and inspire this confidence in God, as distinguished from self-confidence, that such language is often used as 'look away from self to Christ,' 'put all difficulties in His hands and leave them there,' 'let God do it all for you,' 'not by painful efforts, not by fruitless struggles'[1]—

'The rest of ceasing from myself,
To find my all in Thee'[2]—

'victory, liberty, and rest . . . not by a life-long struggle after an impossible ideal but by the surrender of the individual to God, and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit,'[3] and, 'Oh unpresented soul . . . thou hast had a mind of thine own, a plan of thine own, a scheme of thine own, a way of thine own! . . . He asks you to take your hands off that which is His possession, that He may enter and possess.'[4] Now, we do not object to this language in itself, except to 'an impossible ideal' (for the highest ideal is in Christ to become possible); but the absence of struggle is so put forward as to suggest an absence of effort, and is too often so interpreted by the hearers—interpreted as teaching that there is no need for strenuous effort and self-discipline. But it is for the one who is surrendered to God the difference between the weary and heart-breaking struggle of an (on the whole) unsuccessful war, and the triumphant and happy struggle of a war which on the whole meets with success; in which, though reverses are still met with and far less is accomplished than is aimed at, yet victory is the rule, and there is joy, because the failures will be redeemed and the defeats made good by the Captain of our Salvation; through whom it is certain, and a present experience, that the reverses will grow less and ultimately disappear, and final success ensue.

[1] *Unclaimed Privileges*, p. 13. [2] *Ibid.* p. 15.
[3] *Kes. Conv.* p. 6. [4] *The Keswick Week*, 1907, p. 114.

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Closely connected with this is the doctrine which Keswick steadily rejects in terms, but still tends to teach in fact. It would be long to quote adequately, and a few brief sentences would not represent the force of Keswick doctrine about 'perfect victory.' This teaching is understood by a large proportion of hearers in such a way as to be indistinguishable from the doctrine of sinless perfection; and we suspect that if some of the speakers, who would repudiate that doctrine in terms, were to define clearly what it is that they mean, the same result would follow. There is a danger that some may expect that after the crisis of self-surrender they will sin no more; or, still worse, believe themselves to be living a life without sin. The distinction is not made clear between the potential and the actual in the present, and we fear that in consequence the danger becomes a real one in both respects. We think that the doctrine of 'sinless perfection,' which is again and again expressly repudiated, is unintentionally, but practically, conveyed, in fact though not in terms. For it is useless, especially when dealing with untrained or unstable minds, and many of both are present at Keswick, to repudiate in terms a doctrine which has first been, however unintentionally, instilled by appeals to enthusiasm and the sympathy of the emotions.

The emotional type of person is always found at Keswick; and is invited by the Convention's constant tendency to confuse the spiritual gift with the emotion, the heart-stirring, which is often genuinely and wholesomely caused by the gift; and to forget that the gift may be possessed without this strong emotion, and—alas!—the emotion without the gift. The danger of appeals to the emotions is illustrated by the insanity which frequently appears after the Convention. We freely admit that this is due to mental excitement without true acceptance and experience of the Keswick message, which would rather remove than excite mental disease, and has actually been known to do so.[1] But the methods are often such as to produce an excitement,

[1] *The Keswick Week*, 1905, p. 36.

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which is both dangerous to an unstable mind, and also actually hinders the deliberate and resolute acceptance of the message. We have heard a speaker with extravagant gestures and passionate tones call for more emotion, and, after stirring up the audience to his utmost, call on them excitedly to 'sob.' This produced hysterical symptoms from more than one. At another meeting a member on the platform, while all knelt in prayer, called one who had shewn unmistakeable symptoms of hysteria, 'that soul crying in an agony.' This excitement, it is only fair to add, is not typical of Keswick; but it exists, though the most influential speakers try to check it, and do check it. During the whole course of one Convention, the writer only remembers having actually witnessed two episodes of this kind, but there were at least one or two other similar occurrences at the same Convention.

This excitement is due to an impatience to draw forth an outward and visible expression of acceptance of the message. In Confirmation, to which this expression corresponds, each person is first carefully prepared and examined to make sure that he knows what he is doing and does it deliberately. When all in a mixed meeting are appealed to in feeling tones, there will usually be a measure of unreality in response. This haste is perhaps partly due to the confusion noticed above between the feeling and the gift, which leads to the attempt to produce the feeling (and its expression) as a means, or evidence, of the presence of the gift; and leads also to the mistake, common at Keswick, of thinking that those who have not had like feelings and experiences have not the gift, or have it less fully.

Keswick takes the principle of Hebrews vi. 1–3, without the whole basis on which it rests. The writers seek to teach us how to go on to perfection, without shewing how these higher truths rest upon the whole six-fold foundation there briefly presented, or summed up—namely, Repentance, Faith, the teaching of Baptism and Confirmation, Resurrection and Judgement. Some of these are neglected. Baptism is totally ignored, and not taken in connexion with responsibility, or as necessary for Christian member-

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ship. In one place regeneration seems to be confused with sanctification. Similarly Confirmation is totally ignored, though it is intimately bound up with the very essence of Keswick doctrine. The same is true of the Holy Communion, which is scarcely mentioned, although it is the Sacrament of growth in grace. It is true that the majority of those who attend are probably regular communicants. But they are not taught to associate this with their life in Christ.[1] Dare anyone so hold up to scorn the Keswick motto, 'All one in Christ Jesus,' as to say that because sects and denominations are present as well as the Church which is undenominational because Catholic, Baptism, the laying on of hands, and Holy Communion must be kept out of sight? If so, it is one of the saddest consequences and symptoms of 'our unhappy divisions,' that 'the Cup of Blessing which we bless and the Bread which we break' are banished in idea and in fact from those devout and earnest meetings. These are not treated as—no one seems to stand on Keswick platforms and speak of them as—'the sharing in fellowship and Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ,' and therefore an integral and necessary part of our life in Christ. Among much personal testimony we have never heard of anyone there testifying to this, or speaking of the Holy Eucharist as the Bishop of Durham speaks of it. Keswick speaks as if it were possible to treat adequately of our life in Christ and of our 'progressive and immediate sanctification' without reference to the Cup of Blessing and the Bread. Yet with what force and abundant application the Sacraments and Confirmation ought to be used there!

Different aspects of its one Doctrine have been prominent at different periods in the history of Keswick, and these different stages in its progress have been traced for us by the Rev. J. B. Figgis in Dr. Harford's book. In the first period the main aspect was that of the *peace and joy* which result from this manner of living. Of this the Rev. C. A. Fox and Mr. Hudson Taylor were the great exponents. In the second period it was more particularly shewn how this

[1] See, however, *The Keswick Week*, 1907, p. 152—an almost isolated instance, and here the connexion is not traced.

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life of faith must quicken our practical activities, and *work and personal testimony* were discussed and carried out (as they continue to be) in a great many works of a charitable and evangelistic character, both in this country and abroad. In applying this to foreign missionary work Mr. Eugene Stock had much influence. In the third and present stage a wider range of subjects is discussed. *Teaching* is the word by which Mr. Figgis describes this phase. The two simultaneous Bible-readings given on four mornings (Tuesday to Friday) are a very marked feature of the Convention. The Revs. Evan Hopkins, A. T. Pierson, G. MacGregor, H. W. Webb-Peploe, Hubert Brooke, and Andrew Murray, and the Bishop of Durham, are especially mentioned in this connexion.

This progress is natural and healthy, corresponding with that of religion in the individual soul. In the first two stages it advances from the intensive to the extensive activities of religion; and from its subjective relations in these two to its objective relations in the third. It is a progress from subjective religion working on our 'inward parts' to the same working outwardly on the rest of the world; and from this to religion, as found objectively in the Bible and in general experience, working upon the answering faith in us.[1] We would venture at this point to recall to our readers some words which appeared in our pages last year: 'Restatements of doctrine in the terms of modern ideas to meet the needs of modern life are said to be necessary, but it must be remembered that they must be based upon the results of sound learning, informed with sober reverence and spiritual insight, if they are really to satisfy.'[2] Keswick is such a restatement, and must be tested by this standard. It demands consideration, not only out of respect to those leaders from whom no other standard is expected but also as representing the attitude of a certain large school of thought. In matters religious or secular, each school of

[1] See for all three St. John x. 9: 'I am the Door of the sheep; by me if any man enter in he shall be kept safe, and shall *go in*, and *go out*, and *find pasture*.'

[2] *C.Q.R.*, April 1907, p. 2.

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thought is the result of the operation of minds of a certain type upon the questions concerned and their answers: *i.e.* the operation in propounding the questions, and finding, assimilating and co-ordinating the answers. It is clear that in forming restatements account must be taken of all schools.

In stating the doctrine of Keswick there is a danger of confusion of terms. The idea of consecration or dedication is essential to it; but these terms are never so used in the New Testament.[1] Rather the term actually employed in this connexion is that which we translate 'sanctify.' It occurs some fifteen times, seven in the aorist tense, six in the perfect, and twice in the present, and always in the passive as regards man. In Heb. ii. 11 and x. 14, where it is in the present, the reference seems to be rather to the general process of sanctifying believers, which goes on continuously, than to the continuous sanctification of the single believer.[2] The process described by this word is generally represented

[1] In the Authorized Version the word *consecrate* occurs only twice. In Heb. vii. 28 it is a translation of τετελειωμένον, and applied to Christ; and in Heb. x. 20 of ἐνεκαίνισεν, also applied to Christ, and translated in ix. 18, where alone it elsewhere appears, by 'dedicate,' as in both places in the Revised Version. *Dedicate* is not elsewhere used in the Authorized Version except in St. John x. 22 in the expression, 'Feast of the Dedication.'

[2] Bp. Westcott has the following notes on these texts. On ii. 11, he says, 'The present participles (ἁγιάζων, ἁγιαζόμενοι) mark the continuous personal application of Christ's work. Compare John xvii. 17 *ff.*' On οἱ ἁγιαζόμενοι he says, 'The thought is of the continuous process at once in the individual soul and in the whole body of the Church (c. x. 14).' On x. 14 he says, 'τοὺς ἁγιαζομένους—Vulg. *sanctificatos*: all who from time to time realize progressively in fact that which has been potentially obtained for them. Compare ii. 11; and contrast *v.* 10, ἡγιασμένοι, . . . There is a similar contrast between οἱ σωζόμενοι (comp. 1 Cor. xv. 2) . . . and σεσωσμένοι.' In both places the context, as Bishop Westcott's notes on the passages in general seem to shew, treats rather of 'the process in the whole body of the Church' than 'in the individual soul.' But in the other case these texts are not opposed to the general line of thought traced out here, but rather strengthen the argument by bringing the use of ἁγιάζω into line with that of σώζω, as indicated by Bishop Westcott. An analogous use of the past tense to that general use of the present suggested above is found in the Catechism: 'Hath redeemed me and all mankind.'

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as taking place at a definite time as a single act, or as having taken place and being complete. 'Ye were sanctified' (1 Cor. vi. 11), 'the Church of God . . . they that have been sanctified, called to be saints' (1 Cor. i. 2) 'If a man purge himself . . . he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified [perfect tense], meet for the Master's use' (2 Tim. ii. 21), 'We have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all' (Heb. x. 10). It will be noted that the operation is always represented as done to, or in, us by God. 'The God of peace Himself sanctify you wholly; and may your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire, without blame at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ' (1 Thess. v. 23). Man's part is to 'purge himself'—to repent, believe, and obey. Keswick consistently presents this renunciation of all sin and promise of faith and obedience as the first step in 'consecration.' Perhaps Keswick lays too much stress on man's part, or, rather, treats the action of 'consecrating' as human, instead of Divine. But they sing:

'Consecrate me now to thy service, Lord,
By the power of grace Divine.
Let my soul look up with a steadfast hope,
And my will be lost in thine.'

Again, with regard to the word 'to save,' we need to remember that it is used with a twofold meaning. In St. John iii. 17, v. 34, 'That the world may be saved,' 'That ye [Pharisees] may be saved,' the aorist tense regards this as an act performed at once upon them, an admission into a state of salvation, an immediate attainment by them of safety.[1] If we turn to Eph. ii. 5, 8, we find St. Paul using the perfect tense.[2] Their saving was complete. 'By grace ye have been saved.' It is not only potentially complete, or

[1] The same tense is used in Acts iv. 12, xvi. 30, 1 Cor. x. 33, 1 Thess. ii. 16, 2 Thess. ii. 10, 1 Tim. i. 15. Compare Rom. viii. 24, 2 Tim. i. 9, Titus iii. 5; 'By hope were we saved,' 'God saved us and called us,' 'According to His mercy He saved us.' Again, take St. James' phrase, 'The implanted word is able to save your souls,' where 'to save' is aorist, *σῶσαι*, not present as Heb. vii. 25. Compare also St. James ii. 14, iv. 12.

[2] *χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι . . . τῇ γὰρ χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι διὰ πίστεως.*

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complete as the Saviour's act; but also as applied to and appropriated by the Ephesian Christians. 'By grace ye have been saved through faith.' The nature of this finished salvation is indicated by the 'being justified by faith' of Rom. v. 1; by Rom. vi. 4, 'We were buried with Him through baptism into death'; by Col. ii. 12 and iii. 3, 'being dead with Christ'; by the 'quickening' of Eph. ii. 1 and 5; by the 'quickening' and 'forgiveness' of Col. ii. 13 and 14; by Col. i. 14, 'We have redemption in Him, the forgiveness of our sins,' and 21, 'you . . . hath He reconciled'; by Col. ii. 11, 'circumcised . . . in the putting off of the body of the flesh in the circumcision of Christ'; and by many like words which tell of the remission of sins through the Lord's Death, appropriated by us through faith. The salvation which is complete at once in the Philippian gaoler and the Ephesian Christians through faith, and in the saints at Rome by hope, the force resulting from the power, faith, can only be the salvation of pardon, of liberation from the imminent curse of sorrow and death, from the wages of sin which the Saviour bore for us.

But we find the word used five times at least in the present tense, in a way which distinguishes this use of it from the other. Acts ii. 47, 'The Lord added to them day by day those that were being saved'; 1 Cor. i. 18, 'The word of the Cross is to those who are perishing foolishness, but to us who are being saved the power of God'; 1 Cor. xv. 2, 'The Gospel through which ye are being saved'; 2 Cor. ii. 15, 'Among those that are being saved'; Heb. vii. 25, 'He is able to save[1] continuously and completely[2] them that draw near unto God through Him, seeing He ever liveth to make intercession for them.' Compare Rom. v. 8 ff., 'While we were yet sinners Christ died for us. Much more then, being now justified in His blood, shall we be saved'—Bishop Moule renders 'kept safe'—'from the wrath through Him. For if, while we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of His Son, much more, being reconciled, shall we be saved'—'kept safe'—'in His life.' Here we

[1] Not σῶσαι as in 1 Tim. i. 15, and St. James i. 21—but σώζειν.

[2] εἰς τὸ παντελὲς—out and out.

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have the two salvations set side by side—' reconciled through His death—kept safe in His life.' Later in the same epistle (xiii. 11) St. Paul writes, ' Now is our salvation nearer than when we believed.' This future salvation, which every day brings nearer, cannot be the same as the Romans received by hope when they believed, but the perfection of the process carried on in His life. Finally, see the two profound and illuminating verses, 29 and 30 in Rom. viii., ' Those whom He foreknew He also foresaw [in the character of] those who are like in nature to the image of His Son, to the end that He might be the first-born among many brethren ; while those whom He [so] foresaw, He also called ; and those whom He called, He also justified ; while those whom He justified, He also glorified.' God, foreknowing every unit in the human race, foreknew with a peculiar notice those who would believe and be ' the elect according to His foreknowledge ' (1 Pet. i. 2), knew to whom He had given grace before the world began (2 Tim. i. 9). For these He has an End in view, and this consummation He sees as complete. In God's eternal sight His elect are conformed to the image of His Son. He carries them through the stages of preparation and growth which are to culminate in this End. Therefore all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are called according to His purpose (Rom. viii. 28) ; He calls, justifies, glorifies them. They are called to be enrolled among His saints, being enrolled are justified, and being justified the conformity begins to appear, increasing till it is complete and they are glorified with the glory which Christ received from the Father (St. John xvii. 22). We quote Bishop Moule's comment on the words, ' them He also glorified ' : ' The past tense reminds us that in this passage we are placed, as it were, upon the mountain of the Throne ; our finite thought is allowed to speak for once (however little it understands it) the language of eternity, to utter the facts as the Eternal sees them. To Him, the pilgrim is already in the immortal Country; the bondservant is already at his day's end, receiving his Master's " Well done, good and faithful." He to whom time is not as it is to us thus sees His purposes complete,

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always and for ever. We see through His sight, in hearing His word about it. So for us, in wonderful paradox, our glorification is presented, as truly as our call, in terms of accomplished fact.' In this language of eternity Christ says, 'The glory which Thou hast given me, I have given them.' To God, to whom is no Past or Future, the majestic consummation is ever present; and all His elect are conformed to the image of His Son, are risen, ascended, glorified; no longer divided by sect or party, by strife, schism, envy, or any uncharitableness, but in Him and with each other for ever one. This conformity is beginning in us, so that St. Paul can write (2 Cor. iii. 18) that we in whom the Spirit of the Lord is 'reflect as a mirror reflects, as the face of Moses reflected, the glory of the Lord; and are transformed into the image of that very thing (the glory of the Lord), from glory unto glory (from likeness unto greater likeness—from step to step of glory—from rung to rung of our Ladder, Christ), even as (the glory of the Lord shines upon and through us) from the Lord, the Spirit.' 'Justification,' 'conformation,' δικαίωσις and συμμόρφωσις, therefore, are distinct.[1] Justification is the salvation performed at one time when we believed, the being conformed the salvation conferred in a continuous process.[2]

In St. John x. 10 our Lord expresses in a phrase the purpose of His Advent—of His Incarnation, Life, Death, Resurrection and Ascension: 'I came that they may have life, and may have it abundantly.' The whole theology of the New Testament, and in particular the passages and general line of thought that we are discussing, may be described as an exposition of this phrase. To say that life is incomprehensible, indefinable is to utter a commonplace. But the Lord was speaking our common tongue, and, whatever ideas we associate necessarily with the idea 'life' must belong to His meaning.

(*a*) Life is one. It is useless, and leads only to confusion, to try to distinguish different kinds of life, which we

[1] Δικαίωσις corresponds to σεσωσμένος, συμμόρφωσις to σωζόμενος.

[2] Besides the passages quoted see Romans *passim*, especially v.–viii. (comp. vii. 23, with viii. 2), and Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians etc.

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know as a mysterious principle, exhibited in an immense variety of forms and degrees. These manifestations we can describe, distinguish, classify; but, so far as we can see, in bee, and bird, and man, and angel the principle is the same; and the differences lie within the creatures which live, in and through which life is manifested.

It follows that the giving of life in increasing abundance must be done in every stage by promoting a growth within, an evolution or development, of that which lives.

(*b*) Life is action. In everything in which the principle of life is presented to us it is known, and known only, by action. When life ceases, action ceases; when action ceases, life ceases. In sleep or waking the living body is in ceaseless action, causing and caused by continuous chemical and physiological change. When bodily life ceases, then as a stone thrown up falls back, or a wound-up clock runs down, these changes are reversed and undone, and the dust returns to the earth as it was, and the spirit returns to God who gave it.

It follows that development in the living creature will be shewn by extended and new actions and powers of action. And we may add, as a corollary, that this evolution may require, on reaching a certain stage in each person, a change of environment, giving scope for the exercise of new powers, and the extended exercise of the old.

It will be found that these consequences and their corollary are in full accordance with biological facts. And biology teaches also that there are two sorts of action, normal or healthy, and abnormal or unhealthy; and that the former conserves the development and principle of life, while the latter tends to destroy, and, if continued, will ultimately destroy these; and that health and disease are thus distinguished.

(*c*) In man, with whom alone we are now concerned, life is manifested by three sorts of action—bodily, mental, and spiritual. These are developed in different proportions in different people. The following quotation may serve to shew that these three departments of human life are generally acknowledged in our common speech. The subject is Edward Gibbon.

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'What lends a peculiar interest to the study of his character is the unusually strong contrast which it presents between the mental and moral development of human nature. The same contrast . . . was conspicuous in Napoleon, and . . . in our own Henry VIII. Gibbon's . . . powers of mind have probably been rarely equalled. But where was the moral sense? If our nature is divided into its intellectual, physical and ethical elements, there are some men who seem to be destitute of the latter, and in whom one of the two former, or both, are abnormally developed. . . . The comparison immediately suggests itself between Gibbon and Dr. Johnson, who, with all the other's intellect, and more than his animalism, combined a powerful moral sense which held the latter in check. Of this it seems that Gibbon had a very small share allotted to him at his birth.'[1]

In every person there is bodily life; a mind which perceives, knows, reasons; and, at least, some knowledge of good and evil. As one in extremity of sickness is said to be 'half-dead,' and madness or idiocy is called a 'living death,' worse than the death of the body; so the irreligious man, the man who does not pray, is in a living death, worse than madness or idiocy. For as the mind is greater and more precious than the body, so the spirit is greater and more precious than the mind.

The three parts of human nature are so intimately united that it is impossible to define precisely the share taken by any one in any given act. Man is truly one, in a three-fold nature, indeed, but one person. Normally there is an exact relation between the three; for the life of the body is controlled by the mind, and that of the mind by the spirit. The mind controls the body by means of part of the latter called the Brain. The mind controls the brain by means of part of the former called the Will. The will is subject to the highest power of the mind called Love. Love is controlled by means of the highest faculty of the spirit called Communion with God. This order is the normal, or perfectly healthy state. But it is a condition in which Jesus Christ alone has lived. These considerations give definite meaning to the expressions, 'life more abundant,' and 'eternal life.' They

[1] *The Standard*, Nov. 15, 1900.

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mean more orderly and perfectly ordered life: that is, life in which the relation of each part to the rest is exactly ordered, each one acting in just harmony, proportion, or subjection with the others. Disordered correlation of the parts, or unhealthy action, tends to check action: that is, to produce death; and sin and disorder are synonymous; for all life comes from God, and if it ever be manifested by actions which are not in accordance with His Will, that must be due to disorder. If there is disorder, death is produced inevitably, if gradually. But it does not follow that complete cessation of all action—that is to say, annihilation of the particular individual—will ever be produced; for it may be impossible for a spirit ever to cease from action; or a point may be reached at which all conflicting forces will counterbalance, and a permanent condition of conscious and limited action ensue. Evidently this would be a condition of stagnation and extreme ill-health and wretchedness appalling to contemplate. However this may be, death in some dreadful form must follow, unless the relations of the various parts and faculties are adjusted; and it is evident that so great a rearranging must be gradual, and probably more or less painful. These considerations suggest how even bodily death may, so far as man is concerned, have come into the world by sin; for they render credible on rational grounds the opinion that sin alone makes mortal the being possessed of a spiritual nature; and, moreover, how the consequences of continued sin may be further, or second, death; while, on the other hand, when the correlation is perfectly restored, there seems no reason known to us why full and abundant action, or life, should ever cease. If this be so, and perfectly holy and eternal life be perfectly ordered life, then we can understand that when Christ says that those who believe in Him '*have* everlasting life,' He means that their nature and life are being put into true and normal order. And if it be objected to all this, either that even these must die, or that Christ Himself died, we reply in the first case that, as a disease, though mitigated by remedies which will ultimately cure it, must run a certain course, so, too, if mortality is a result of sin, to a certain extent it must run its

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course; and in the second case, that the Death of Christ was, on any theory and expressly, a taking upon Himself of the consequences of sin not His own, to which He was not liable in His own Person.

If all this be true, and eternal life and holiness alike be by definition natural and ordered life, and sin be a derangement of human nature, then it is easy to see why faith is the means by which derangement may be removed. For all that is naturally is the operation of God's will, including each person's character. And that character, the proportion and configuration of qualities, which are peculiar to him, will follow a certain course of action if perfectly ordered, a course peculiar to him; and the more they can be led into that course, the more they will tend to become so ordered. Faith, reliance upon another to guide—that is, to inform and enable—removes the opposition of an imperfectly controlled and unstable will; and directs the will, leading it to select single actions and sustained habits of thought and conduct in accordance with the object of faith, so that he who trusts God will live as God wills, so far as he is able. The inability to do so completely arises from the disorder, and decreases with it. It is clear, therefore, that such a process of rearranging and bringing to order necessarily requires, both to begin and to carry it on, the help of some power from without. For if faith were not fixed upon an external object, or were fixed upon any other but God, it would be fixed upon disorder. If man were able to make such an effect he would not need it. That we have no power of ourselves to help ourselves is no less the doctrine of reason than of revelation. Revelation adds that those who trust in God are guided by the direct and personal influence of God—the indwelling of Christ in their hearts by the Holy Spirit.

Eternal life, then, is life in God—life in which God is immanent in body, mind, and spirit. It is holy life, characterized by normal, orderly, and perfect operation of every faculty or part under the influence of the Spirit of God; a life of faith, of entire dependence upon God, which inspires effort because it gives confidence of success. One must first learn, at cost of whatever hard course of failure and defeat,

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that his own efforts must be vain; and then that quiet confidence in God can make vain efforts triumph. And if it be objected to this that it involves a sacrifice of individuality, we reply that the distinction between dependence upon God and dependence upon any other consists in that very thing, that in the former case individuality is not sacrificed but developed and formed. For if, as just said, character and individuality are the operation of God's Will for each person, then the more he submits to the Divine Will, the less mechanical, the more free and spontaneous and natural, the more true to himself, his life and conduct become.

'To thine own self be true,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.'

But add also this:

'To God be true,
Thou canst not then be false to thine own self.'

In initiating this new life in us the Saviour begins with what we have seen to be in us the springs of action. By the great exhibition of Divine Love, the Cross, our souls are drawn to Him. Acting upon a sense of need in us, it awakens a personal devotion and a grateful confidence in our breasts; and Christ, the Mediator between God and man, dwells in our hearts by faith by the Holy Spirit, Who is One with Him, bringing our spirits into touch, or communion, with God; and in Himself reveals further the lovely and reverend character of God. Then by communion with God love, properly the noblest faculty of the mind but debased by being ignobly fixed on unworthy objects, is elevated to its proper function by being fixed on God, and therefore also upon our fellow-men, and is made by God the organon of our re-creation (Gal. vi. 14–15). Directed and adjusted thus, and strengthened because properly exercised, love rules the will and governs all the life. Now, it is clear that, as this is accomplished by the character of Christ Jesus, the true facts of His Person and life and work must first of all be known and believed. 'First of all it is necessary that we hold the Catholic Faith,' in order that this devotion and

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confidence may be inspired and well-founded, that we may 'in all things take up the shield of faith.' Hence the extreme value of Creeds to safeguard true belief. Hence, too, the extreme importance of teaching young children the facts, purposes, and principles which go to make up the Catholic Faith, 'How shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard?'

In one who loves God the adjustment necessary to begin the process of salvation is complete. But daily experience shews that progress is not equal in all, or in each at all times. Some seem to struggle vainly, some rejoice in the power of God unto salvation; and the difference consists in the measure of faith. The more reliance upon God and patient effort and self-discipline are combined, the more successful and happier will be the progress made. When work is to be done by several associated units, as in a machine or a society of individuals, or here the various parts and faculties of man's complex nature, not only ordered action is needed but unity of purpose. So life requires a conscious purpose deliberately adopted, and much depends on the form our purpose takes. If it be, for example, negative, merely to defeat sin, our progress will be far less than it might be. For though a man becomes the enemy of Satan by becoming the friend of Christ, he cannot become the friend of Christ by becoming the enemy of Satan. The right, positive purpose is defined in the words of the Scottish Shorter Catechism, 'The chief end of man is to glorify God and enjoy Him for ever'; in the even more pregnant words of Augustine, 'Fecisti nos ad te, Domine, et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in te'—'Thou hast made us, O Lord, for Thyself, and our heart has no rest till it rests in Thee'; and in Christ's words, most pregnant of all, it is 'to come unto the Father.' Deliberately to adopt as the purpose of life, to be carried out by the Divine immanence, this purpose of coming to our Father, of glorifying God and finding rest and joy in Him, is to effect a unification, a settlement, of the life; and without it progress can never be at its best, nor life at its highest level. It is the great donation of self and all its powers, the great renunciation of all lower

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aims, except as they tend directly or indirectly to this. This surrender of the threefold person is the entrance into a new existence of enlarged self-control, conferred by strengthened faith and love; and of ever-increasing peace and joy, unconquerable by difficulties, sorrows, temptations, disappointments, even by failures, because conferred by fellowship with God. This it is the main purpose, or part of the main purpose, of Keswick to teach. This is uniformly presented in Scripture as God's act in us. 'God Himself sanctify you.'

Speaking, if we understand him rightly, of this sanctification, the Rev. E. H. Hopkins says, 'It is from that point that the formation of Christian character begins.'[1] We think it would be more correct to say that the formation of Christian character must have begun before, and that the possibility of this surrender shews that it must have made some advance; that repentance and faith and the sense of mutual love between himself and God are first necessary, and constitute some advance. This sanctification is impossible till spiritual development has reached a certain point; but if it does not then take place, progress is retarded, until not stagnation only but degradation sets in. It is the parting of the ways, the crisis in life's fitful fever. We note this point because it is not merely a remark in one little book by one Keswick speaker. It is common to many at the Convention to think that spiritual growth does not begin till sanctification takes place, whereas the converse is true; and the result is that haste and sometimes excitement of which we have spoken. Mr. Hopkins, in the address quoted, says, 'You cannot believe till the will is right,' while in fact the will cannot be rightly directed without previous repentance, faith and love. Dr. Moule tells us that the faith which justifies is presupposed, and this involves repentance. Love, too, is needed for sanctification, and many a failure is due to this fact being disregarded. It would seem self-evident that none could consecrate himself to God in Whom he did not believe. Mr. Hopkins elsewhere teaches the same: our only complaint is that he sometimes

[1] *Unclaimed Privileges*, p. 42.

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sacrifices precision to a striking form of sentence, and a certain obscurity is produced by what seem at least to be contradictions. His writings are full of pointed and ingenious and often beautiful illustration. But this skill in illustrating proves a danger. Passages in Scripture are found which can be used allegorically to illustrate a particular doctrine, and those who otherwise interpret the passages are said not to grasp their true meaning[1]: *e.g.* the use of Peter's deliverance from prison,[2] and of Psalm 137.[3] If we place an allegorical interpretation of our own on any text, it cannot be adduced to prove, but only to illustrate, the doctrine in question; and other use of the text is not excluded. The proof of the doctrine must be quite independent of this; though if proof is found there is a presumption that the text was intended to bear that interpretation. There is also in the book some fallacious argument (p. 57).

'Keswick Teaching' is in accordance with Scripture and experience. We should necessarily expect to find it also Catholic; and in fact it is a restatement from an extra-sacramental and extra-ceremonial point of sight of the doctrine of Confirmation, and a testimony to the harmony between the Sacramental and other teaching of Scripture, and to the profound adaptation of the Sacraments to the spiritual needs of men. Keswick presents willing repentance, faith, and obedience as the means and occasion of the gift of the Holy Ghost, and the necessary preliminary to that gift. In Confirmation the acceptance of that Baptismal Vow is the means and occasion of, and necessary preliminary to, the gift of the Holy Ghost. Keswick is therefore a re-affirmation of the spiritual meaning of part of the fundamental symbolism given by Christ Jesus by the Holy Ghost to the Apostles, and by them ordained and instituted in the Church which has maintained it through all ages.

In this symbolism three rites present three stages, which may be called Forgiveness, Victory, and Holiness; or Entrance, Adjustment (or Sanctification) and Maintenance; or Reception, Self-surrender, and Communion with God;

[1] *Unclaimed Privileges*, p. 65. [2] *Ibid.* p. 11.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 61 *ff.*

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according as we think of the gift received, the process undergone, or the act performed. The symbolism is based upon the gift.

(*a*) In Baptism the gift is Forgiveness, the process Entrance (or Justification), the act Reception. The symbol of washing is Christ's perpetual seal, His sign, pledge, and remembrancer, that His promise of pardon is fulfilled upon all in whom its fulfilment is not stopped by disbelief and disobedience. As the Hebrew child of eight days, being unable to break the covenant between God and his own people, was assumed to have kept it and circumcised in token of it; so children of Christian people (or any children likely to be brought up in the Faith), being unable to break the covenant between Christ and the Church or to hinder the saving work in themselves of the Cross, are assumed to have kept the covenant and baptized in token of it. They enter the Church and are enrolled among its members in order that they may be partakers in the new covenant, as Hebrew children became partakers in the old covenant from the moment of their circumcision.

If there seems any difficulty, this may be considered from another point of view. Every child shews as he grows up that he has a tendency to sin, a lack of righteousness, innate not acquired. It is a matter of experience that 'all are born in sin and children of wrath.' He has, then, from the beginning need of pardon. Yet none dare say that the unconscious infant, dying, would be damned. Why not? Because in him no opposition of the will to righteousness is possible, and, the power of choice not being formed, responsibility does not exist. Sin is not imputed where there is no law; and, salvation is freely given, for by grace we are saved, not out of our own resources. Therefore the infant is saved, for acceptance only differs from passive reception where opposition of the will is at least possible. 'Then why baptize the child?' (1) Why not? Baptism is for those who are in a condition to be saved, who are *forgiveable*, if we may so speak. If this is admitted of infants, they ought to have the means and seal of salvation. (2) Christ said, 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved. He that

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believeth not shall be condemned.' The child cannot actively believe, but neither can he disbelieve; he can be baptized and we believe he can be saved. (3) Christ said, 'Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of God.' If the Kingdom of God is of such as these, surely they can be enrolled in it. Christ was 'much displeased' with those who rejected them. Let us not risk incurring His displeasure. (4) Circumcision was the entry to a covenant implying definite and heavy responsibility. Yet God ordered infants to be enrolled as partakers in that covenant. That was a covenant of works: this of grace. Much more, then, can our children be enrolled as parties in our covenant, and be partakers with us of grace. (5) Being enrolled, they become sharers in the general promises made to all parties in the new covenant, which include more than pardon. (6) Being enrolled, they can be taught as they grow up to claim those promises as their own, and to acknowledge a personal share in the responsibilities which that covenant involves. (7) Also they can be taught that while they were yet sinners Christ died for them; and nothing will so bring home the fact that we are saved by grace, that we must look to Christ alone for this and all our needs, as to teach them that in helpless infancy Christ took them for His own. (8) The baptism of infants would have required to be expressly forbidden, seeing that Jews had learned to circumcise their infants. So far from being forbidden, it was universal from the first, which could only have been if it was Apostolic.

The case is summed up by the Church in the rubric which says that a baptized child, dying without sin, is undoubtedly saved, but does not state the converse to this. In short, if a child dies in irresponsible infancy baptized, we have the full assurance of faith that it is 'undoubtedly saved.' If it dies unbaptized, we have such assurance as reason can give in such a case, but not that of faith; all would agree that it must be so, but we have no direct knowledge by revelation that it is so. 'It is no use to baptize the child,' said the old Baptists, 'till we know that he is one of the Elect.' We say, 'We know that, if he is

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baptized, he is one of the Elect—at least till he falls from that grace.'

(*b*) In Confirmation the gift is Victory, the process Adjustment or Sanctification, the act Consecration or Self-surrender. In infancy the will and the affections are only in the bud. Gradually they expand, but irregularly and spasmodically at first, changing and darting from one object to another without control or constancy of purpose, desiring what just before was hated, forgetting what just before was ardently desired. They are developed and directed by the training—that is, the influence of the teaching and whole environment of the child; and his character acquires definiteness and an appreciable and practical measure of self-control and permanence. This is the time of making choices, the 'years of discretion.' Choices which affect the whole life have to be made in many affairs, and this is the particular duty of that epoch when life begins to open out before the youth. Many things, his present and later life, success and happiness, the formation of his character and the development of his talents, his influence on others, all depend on his choice. With regard to his earthly career, to postpone is to choose idleness and inefficiency. With regard to the service of God, to postpone is to choose that of the devil, the world, and the flesh. It is the supreme duty of parents to set this before him, when they see his mind beginning to be formed; and to urge the importance, the duty, the happiness, of choosing rightly, and the shame, the danger, the sin and degradation, of choosing wrongly or putting it off. How important are these early years! Of what moment the training which they carry! How enormous the crime of withholding careful and accurate teaching in Christian truth during the years of childhood! This most cruel of wrongs is thoughtlessly committed by many educated and cultured people whose children are often astonishingly ignorant of the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles.

The gift of Confirmation we have called Victory. Because we can resist neither 'the flesh'—that is, the innate evil tendencies, the 'original sin' of our nature—nor the

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devil and the world, the evil influences from without to which the flesh only too readily responds, except by the enabling power of the Holy Ghost, this may as well be called Defence as Victory; and this aspect of it is particularly put forward in the Confirmation service, to teach us further that we have nothing that we have not received, and to lead us to live in quiet confidence in Him. The symbolic act of laying hands on the head signifies (1) the conveyance of a gift by one who has received it and is commissioned to pass it on (the Church, represented by the Bishop, Matt. xvi. 18–19, John xx. 22–23). This gift is sanctification, or acceptance then and there by God, symbolized by laying on of hands. It is the acceptance by God of the surrendered life and the undertaking of all responsibility—so far as the surrender is complete at any given time. God accepts, or takes possession of, the surrendered life by the gift of the indwelling Spirit. (2) The laying on of hands symbolizes the solemn sending forth of the accepted, that is sanctified,[1] disciple, who is thereby 'called to be a saint,' and sent forth to live his life in the world 'in Christ.' (3) It signifies the protecting care of the Heavenly Father, Whose hand is ever over His child to defend.

So performing the great donation, so sanctifying spirit, mind and body to the Lord, we are sanctified by Him; we receive the Holy Spirit of Victory, we are endued with power from on high, in our grasp is placed the irresistible sword, we are clothed with the impenetrable armour, the strength of the Son of God is ours. Why, then, can we ever again know sin? It is because disorder hinders our use of these arms, and we have not proved them; because disorder must be remedied and order made perfect by degrees. We are full-grown and fully-equipped,[2] but our training is only begun. Till order is perfect, though we possess the gift we do not know how to make full use of it. We belong to God in virtue of the surrender we have made, but (as Mr. Hopkins tells us) the gift takes time to convey to His use; and while the order is being made perfect and the gift conveyed we shall often act as if we were our own.

[1] ἡγιασμένος. [2] τέλειοι.

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But once we have thus 'given our hearts to God,' we have so adjusted our life and been consecrated by God, that order is only a question of time; and our manner of living and actions will ultimately be brought under perfect control, and into perfect conformity with Divine Holiness. This is the third stage.

(*c*) In the Holy Communion the gift is Holiness, the process Maintenance or Eternal Life, the act Communion with God. We call the process undergone *maintenance*, rather than *growth*, because this stage is final and eternal. It is everlasting life. Growth may end at some distant day. Maintenance can never end while existence lasts. The characteristic of this stage is the maintenance of ordered life. Of course this takes at first the form of bringing the disordered life to order by the act of communion with God in the heart. When this process is complete, as we must suppose it will ultimately be, the same Act, in whatever wonderfully developed form, will necessarily continue uninterrupted, maintaining the perfectly ordered and controlled life for ever. From this gift is drawn the symbolism of the rite which expresses this stage.

We may ask why Christ's Death, which seems to belong more particularly to the first stage, that of Justification, supplies the imagery for this. Another saying of His will tell: 'I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me.' How Christ is our life we have seen. He gives us His own Life, a life with a purpose, or *motif*, deliberately adopted, the purpose of coming to the Father, of glorifying God and finding rest and joy in Him. Christ is the Truth to teach this and the Way to reach it. He is the Truth to teach it, because the Incarnation is the supreme revelation that man may draw near to God. He is the Way to reach it, because, as He said, 'No man cometh unto the Father but by me. If ye had known me ye should have known my Father also; and from henceforth ye know Him and have seen Him. . . . He that hath seen me hath seen the Father.' In His human life, its tenderness and strength, its love and gentleness, its justice and severity and truth, its sacrifices for others, its patience

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and wisdom and sympathy, its utter purity and strong calm—in all these and more in seeing Him we see the Father. This is the Vision Beautiful, the Holy Grail, the sacred and heavenly Quest, so to see Christ, and in seeing Him to see the Father. This is the mystic rapture, the 'light that surprises' the Christian while he prays, the Celestial Vision that visits him as he meditates on that Life and the Death and Resurrection which were its end and crown. Seeing God in Christ, dwelling in the glory of that Presence day by day, we know Him in like manner as a man knows his friend; and as the character and way of life of a man are affected by those of his intimate friend, so those whom God admits to intercourse with Himself come under His influence and grow into some likeness to His character, 'from glory unto glory'—'till we all come unto the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.'

The symbolism of the Holy Communion, then, is based upon the Death of Christ, because that is the supreme revelation of the Father through the Son, and the cause of our being pardoned and admitted to intercourse with Him; and as the life and growth of the body are maintained and it is strengthened and refreshed by food and drink, so this is made the figure of the maintenance of our eternal life by communion through the Son with the Father, Who is made known to us by the Divinity of the Son of God, and brought near to us by the humanity of the Son of Man.

But His Death must not be commemorated apart from the Resurrection and Ascension. He is the Lamb that has been a slain Lamb, and is no longer so, but lives for ever. So as we dwell in the glory of His Presence, as we gaze upon the beauty of that lovely and Celestial Vision, as we fight the good fight in His strength, we do all and see all in the thought that He is coming again; and in that thought our hearts rejoice.

It is the work of the Spirit to testify in us of Him, to display this Heavenly Vision to our longing gaze; and shewing this to shew the Father. By the Spirit of God the spirit of man has intercourse with God, and this Spirit

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Christ, going to the Father with His Manhood still, sends to us men from the Father, as He said. The Son of God became Son of Man that the sons of men might become sons of God.

SHORT NOTICES.

I.—Biblical and Kindred Studies.

Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents. By C. F. Kent, Ph.D. Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature in Yale University. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1907.) 12*s. net.*

Law books do not suggest exhilarating reading, but exhilarating this book will prove to be to many an Old Testament student. The development of the Hebrew religion and literature is of great interest, and the law is closely related to both. We could wish to see Hebrew laws made a special subject in some of the legal examinations. The study would promote what is often lacking in the purely technical lawyer—liberal culture.

The student who is fairly abreast of the cautious and reverent critical scholarship of to-day will be prepared to do justice to Dr. Kent's work. Not that he will find anything too startling. The basis of Israelite law is not discovered in the rules and regulations prescribed in Jerahmeelite villages. Moses is not a myth, but a very practical person who tells people they have ten fingers and then gives them in a decalogue one law for every finger, so that they can remember them easily (p. 29).

The student will trace with deepening interest the development of Israel's laws, and will thereby realize more fully the wonder and the value of the Old Testament. The frontispiece is an education in itself. It is a chart which at first sight resembles those we have seen in lurid works on prophecy. Here, however, forthcoming events do not cast their shadows before them. Fourteen horizontal divisions recall certain great epochs or events from B.C. 1200 to B.C. 350, whilst over against these is a Bradshaw-like diagram tracing the progress of law from Moses to the supplementary priestly codes, with collateral and intersecting indications of the contribution made by prophet and by priest, by oral doctrine and by written document. A conspectus of the whole work is afforded by some twenty pages of tables shewing contents and classification. Then comes a particularly readable and informing introduction, occupying

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about fifty pages, beginning with Hammurabi and ending with the priestly codes. The closing words of this introduction fairly illustrate the temper and outlook of the book:

'[The priestly lawgivers] devoted themselves to singling out those older laws and customs that were adapted to the new conditions, to eliminating the debasing elements in the prevailing religious rites, and to giving the ritual as a whole a nobler and more spiritual meaning. History records the success of their efforts. Through the period of greatest peril and trial they preserved their race and religion intact within the wall of separation which they reared high about them. And though without the heathen raged, within that sacred enclosure the faithful—as the Psalms abundantly attest—found inward peace and joy in the presence of the Eternal Father.'

The body of the work gives us the various laws arranged with reference to their subjects—personal, constitutional, criminal, ecclesiastical, etc.—and with an indication of their probable *strata*—primitive, Deuteronomic, priestly. The numerous notes are usually so good and to the point that it would have been an advantage if they were more prominently displayed, by the use of smaller type for the laws and the utilization of the space thus saved. And they could with advantage be amplified here and there. A note seems desirable about bribery (p. 107). This crime against the State was notoriously common in the eighth century, as we see from Amos or Isaiah. Or, again, take the interchange of male and female clothing (p. 113). This was quite possibly connected with the debased worship of idols, and therefore has a religious aspect. The Urim and Thummim (p. 174) might have somewhat fuller treatment; and in the notice of tithes (p. 231) we miss an explanation of Ezekiel's silence as to that term. The only serious omission we have observed is in the text, not the notes. Among the humane laws Dr. Kent duly places that as to the return of garments taken in pledge (p. 125). It is a fine example of the kindly feeling and consideration so evident in Old Testament legislation. But Dr. Kent regards it apparently as of Deuteronomic date. Neither in the body of the work nor in the contents table does the fact appear that this law belongs to an earlier period. It is given in Exodus xxii. 25: 'If thou at all take thy neighbour's garment to pledge, thou shalt restore it unto him by that the sun goeth down: for that is his only covering, it is his garment for his skin: wherein shall he sleep? and it shall come to pass, when he crieth unto me, that I will hear; for I am gracious.' This part of Exodus is ascribed to E, so that the

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law referred to is 130 or 140 years older than Deuteronomy. The point is the more worth noting since there appears to be an allusion to this law in Amos ii. 8: 'They lay themselves down beside every altar upon clothes taken in pledge,' where R.V. margin gives a reference to the passage just cited from Exodus. It is a strong link between Amos and the Ephraimitic literature, and a *terminus ad quem* for the date of the latter.

We have noticed very few misprints, and those are trifling—"Carthagenians" (p. 231), "John's" [referring to a well-known Assyriologist] (p. 86), and on p. vii. "to" is needed between "due" and "parents." The transliteration of the Hebrew word for "precepts" (p. 12) should surely be *pikkudim*, not *pekkudim*; and the second consonant would more accurately be given as a *k* under-pointed.

Considering that this volume is one of a series, there is a singular lack of advertisement. It is only from stray references that a reader will discover that there are other volumes by Dr. Kent and that this is the fourth; the existence and purpose of the other three are modestly kept very much in the background. We must not omit, in conclusion, to refer to the excellent plans of the Temple, etc., and to the Appendix, which gives a very full bibliography and detailed references to the Code of Hammurabi, the Marseilles Tablet, etc.

Canon and Text of the New Testament. By C. R. GREGORY. 'International Theological Library.' (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1907.) 12*s*.

FEW persons, if any, can have so wide an acquaintance with New Testament MSS. as Dr. Gregory. Many years of his life have been devoted to enumerating and describing them, first in the *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's edition of the text, and then in the *Textkritik*, which is the *Prolegomena* in a German dress. In the present volume he makes his first appearance as historian and critic of the materials so laboriously collected; and the respect earned by his earlier labours bespeaks attention to his views on the text of the New Testament, which the reader will be very ready to extend also to his history of the Canon. Nor will any reader fail to recognize the amount of learning and labour which lies behind and is embodied in this work. And yet it can hardly be denied that the result is disappointing—all the more so because it was natural that expectations should be high. The explanation is that Dr. Gregory has mistaken his audience. A book in the English language on the Canon and text of the

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New Testament may be addressed either to specialists, or to less advanced students, or to the general educated public. A volume of the size and price of those comprised in the International Theological Library, with the precedent set for that series by Prof. Driver's *Literature of the Old Testament* and well maintained by Dr. Bruce, Dr. Davidson, and other contributors to it, should certainly be addressed to the first and second of these classes, should tell the student all he needs to give a firm foundation to his knowledge of the subject, and inform the specialist of the conclusions to which a brother-specialist has come, and indicate the grounds for those conclusions. Dr. Gregory, on the contrary, has clearly had the general public in his mind, and, while pouring out before them much more detailed information than they need or can digest, does so in a colloquial style which shews that he is trying to talk down to their level. A handbook of this kind should introduce the student to the technical terminology of the subject; but Dr. Gregory avoids all technical terms like poison, calls a catena a 'chain' and a quaternion a 'fourer,' and in the result leaves a less clear impression than would be obtained by a reasonable use of technicalities.

Nor can it be said that the matter is wholly satisfactory. To take the textual portion of the work alone, in which Dr. Gregory might be expected to be strongest, no mention is made of Dr. Burkitt's elucidation of the history of the Peshitta and Palestinian Syriac, nor of Mr. Lake's photographic publication of the Athos leaves of St. Paul; no indication is given of the respective dates of the MSS. of the Bohairic and Sahidic versions, nor of the fragmentary nature of the latter. In the history of textual criticism it may be noted that Dr. Gregory draws special attention to the good work done by two Englishmen, William Mace (1729) and Edward Harwood (1776), which has been quite overlooked by their successors. He adopts the classification of Westcott and Hort; but (and this is a serious omission) he does not indicate which manuscripts and versions belong to each group, or how they are affected by the patristic evidence. A beginner, after reading all that he has to say, would still not be in a position to make an intelligent use of an *apparatus criticus* or a textual treatise; and the more advanced student, who will be able to profit here and there from the store of Dr. Gregory's information, will be continually distressed by his slipshod and colloquial style.

The treatment of the Canon is vitiated by an analogous

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fault. Writing for the general public, Dr. Gregory might legitimately state his conclusions without arguing them out; but in a work written for students it would have been proper to indicate what points are in dispute, and the line of argument adopted by critics of other schools. We believe that he is thoroughly right as to the use of the four Gospels in the second century and the complete breakdown of the school of criticism founded by Baur; but it would have been more helpful if the extent of the evidence had been set out more exactly. Just as it used to be fashionable to interpret all evidence in the sense most hostile to Christian tradition, so now Dr. Gregory gives every statement its full value, and sometimes more than its value, in support of it; and though we believe his conclusions to be sound, his handling of the evidence is not a good training in scientific method.

It must not, however, be thought that we regard Dr. Gregory's book as valueless. Far from it. It contains, especially in the part relating to the Canon, a mass of information which it would not be easy for the English reader to find so conveniently brought together elsewhere. His conclusions, also, may generally be trusted; for they come, not from an uncritical acceptance of tradition but from a knowledge that the results of criticism, in all that concerns the history of the New Testament Canon, have tended to the vindication of tradition. It is our keen sense of the value of Dr. Gregory's great works, and of the extent of his knowledge of the subject, which makes us regret that he has not handled his materials in a different manner.

'*Old Latin Biblical Texts*,' No. V. *The Four Gospels from the Codex Corbeiensis* (*ff* [*or* ff_2]), being the first complete edition of the MS. now numbered Lat. 17225 in the National Library at Paris, together with fragments of the Catholic Epistles, of the Acts, and of the Apocalypse, from the Fleury Palimpsest (*h*) now numbered Lat. 6400 G in the same Library and for the first time completely edited with the aid of the printed text of Berger—'Le Palimpseste de Fleury,' by E. S. BUCHANAN, M.A., B.Sc. With three facsimiles. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1907.) Price 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE series of 'Old Latin Biblical Texts,' published by the Oxford University Press, continues to grow, though slowly; each new number is edited with accuracy and loving care. And yet it is possible to be too careful if care keeps back year after

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year material which might be of value to the student; how long ago were we promised a *Novum Testamentum Irenaei* in this series? and when will the promise be fulfilled?

The *Codex Corbeiensis* of the Gospels, now numbered *Lat.* 17225 in the National Library at Paris, and formerly 195 in the Library of the Benedictine Monastery at Corbey near Amiens, is a welcome addition; it is one of the most interesting and puzzling of pre-Hieronymian Latin texts, and it has not so far received worthy treatment at the hands of editors; the well-meant efforts of Dr. Belsheim in 1887 produced one of the most inaccurate editions ever known. With regard to the labours of other scholars, Mr. Buchanan might have pushed his researches with advantage somewhat further. He writes (*Introd.* p. v.): 'A brief description of the Codex, together with an imperfect collation (in St. John, St. Luke, and St. Mark only), is given by Bianchini in his *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, which appeared in 1749. The select readings given by Bianchini are, however, far from accurate. Sabatier also gave variant readings (rather less accurately than Bianchini) in the third volume of his great work *Bibliorum Sacr. Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica*, completed in 1749.'

The first scholar to draw attention to the MS. was not Bianchini but Calmet, who gave a list of variant readings from it in his *Nouvelles Dissertations*, published in 1720[1]; Calmet also printed the *prefatio* to St. Luke and the subscriptions to the Gospels, and in a short introduction drew attention to the value and antiquity of the MS., which he assigned to the sixth century. Bianchini apparently did not hear of it or of Calmet's work until he had printed St. Matthew's Gospel in his *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*[2]; but at the beginning of St. John he drew attention to it, reproduced Calmet's short introduction in a Latin translation, and appended his list of variant readings. Meanwhile Sabatier, whose last volume appeared in the same year as Bianchini's, had been studying the Codex for himself; he tells us in his preface (p. xxxiv.) that he was so struck with its text that he had decided to print it, in the first six chapters of St. John, as the specimen of the 'Versio antiqua' instead of the Codex Colbertinus; he was, however, at the last moment

[1] *Nouvelles Dissertations importantes et curieuses, sur plusieurs questions qui n'ont point été traitées dans le Commentaire Littéral sur tous les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament.* Paris, 1720.

[2] *Evangeliarium Quadruplex: Latinae Versiones Antiquae . . . editum ex codd. MSS. a J. Blanchino.* 2 vols. Rome, 1749.

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dissuaded by friends, who urged that it would be better to have this 'versio' printed from the same manuscript throughout the Gospels. He yielded, but quoted it continuously in his notes instead of reprinting the meagre selection of readings given by Calmet and copied by Bianchini; it is from Sabatier only that anything like an adequate idea of the manuscript can be obtained. Yet, as Mr. Buchanan notes, neither Sabatier nor Bianchini (= Calmet) was accurate according to modern standards; they habitually neglected peculiarities of spelling, and were not proof against that fatal mistake in a collator of manuscripts—putting down what they were sure the scribe meant instead of what he had actually written.

To the superficial observer nothing would seem easier than to publish the text of a manuscript; he has got to see that his printed text corresponds with the written text, and that is all. Let such an one try to reproduce the two photograph facsimiles of the Codex Corbeiensis, or the facsimile of the Fleury palimpsest in this edition, and he will have a valuable lesson in patience and humility. What will he do when he has to transcribe a page so thin and worn that it seems hopeless to settle to which side of it half the letters and strokes belong? How will he reproduce in print the marks of abbreviation when they are of a kind unknown to the publisher's type-foundry? Or if he decides to print the words in full how is he to spell them? in what he thinks to be the correct way, or in the way they are elsewhere spelt in the manuscript? Sometimes the word may be spelt differently in different parts of the manuscript; in that case which shall be choose? Corrections offer an even more serious problem; naturally the editor thinks he will give the readings of the first hand throughout and relegate the corrections of later hands to the notes; what is he, however, to do when the original scribe has corrected his own work? or when a later corrector has so carefully erased the original reading that no amount of study can decipher it? or when he cannot be certain that a correction is by the first or by a later hand? Again, he determines to print his manuscript line for line as in the original: what is he to do when the scribe has, for no apparent reason, made a line so long that it cannot be got into the printed page? These are only a few of the troubles that await the editor of a manuscript; we believe, however, that Mr. Buchanan has faced them manfully and has given us an edition which, for convenience and accuracy, leaves nothing to be desired. The only conscious variation he has allowed himself is that, from

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consideration of space and for the convenience of the reader, he has printed the second column of each page under, instead of opposite, the first: this method was adopted in the case of the *Codex Monacensis* (*q*) in this series, and it undoubtedly makes the edition easier to consult and pleasanter to read; on the other hand it makes reconstruction of the pages harder and lessens the possible explanations of transcriptional errors; a scribe's eye will sometimes wander from the line he is copying to that in the parallel column of the page and he will mix up the two; and it is difficult to keep this constantly in mind when we have the second column printed under the first.

The second part of this volume gives us a new edition of the Fleury palimpsest fragments (*h*); these fragments contain portions of the Apocalypse, Acts, and Catholic Epistles in an African Latin version, and in the Acts furnish us with a most important—would that it were less incomplete—witness to the Western text. They were published in 1889 by that prince of editors, the late Samuel Berger; but the deciphering of palimpsests is usually a matter of gradual progress, where each scholar may use the work of those who have gone before as a means towards improving on it; and Mr. Buchanan has been able to decipher quite an appreciable amount that had remained doubtful or hopeless even to M. Berger. We should like, however, to know his reasons for altering the order of the books and placing the Catholic Epistles at the beginning, instead of after the Acts; Berger in his introduction noted that the fragments gave no indication as to the position of the Catholic Epistles, and he therefore placed them, in accordance with the regular early practice, after the Acts, and that order should not be changed without weighty reason. Mr. Buchanan, indeed, is not quite consistent with himself, for he gives the order on his title page Catholic Epp., Acts, Apocalypse; Berger proved that the Apocalypse preceded the Acts in the Codex, and it appears before them in the text of the present edition.

The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch. Edited by R. H. CHARLES, D.D., late Professor of Biblical Greek, Trinity College, Dublin. 'Anecdota Oxoniensia,' Semitic Series, Part XI. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1906.) 17*s.* 6*d.*

BUT three editions of the Book of Enoch (Ethiopic) had appeared previously to the above publication—that of Lawrence in 1838 (Oxford) from a single MS., that of Dillmann in 1851 (Leipsic) from five MSS., and that of Flemming in 1902 (*Texte und Unter-*

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suchungen, VII. 1) from fifteen MSS. The present edition by Dr. Charles contains the Ethiopic text edited from twenty-three of the twenty-nine known MSS., and is substantially the text presupposed in the author's Translation and Commentary published in 1893. It is to be regretted that the MS. designated *p*, which Lord Crawford kindly lent to Flemming for the purpose of collation, has passed into the possession of a library which refuses to lend that or any other of its MSS. to the Bodleian for the use of editors. It is but rarely that oriental scholars have to chronicle their inability to obtain the loan of MSS. which are in this country. Dr. Charles, in his review of Flemming's work in the *American Journal of Theology* (1903), complained of that editor's inaccurate collation of the MSS. generally; consequently he has but sparingly used his collation of *p*.

Some idea of the magnitude of the task undertaken by Dr. Charles in this edition may be gathered from the fact that sometimes in a single page there are eight hundred acts of collation and verification! The basis of the text is the well-known British Museum MS., Orient. 485, which, though disfigured by bad grammar and many corruptions, is the best representative we possess of the ancient text. The corruptions are dealt with by Dr. Charles in a masterly way, and the use made by him of the Semitic background for the purposes of emendation marks an advance in the treatment of the text by Flemming, to whose edition he pays a deserved tribute of gratitude. The Semitic background has been acknowledged by all scholars since the appearance of Halévy's brilliant articles in the *Journal Asiatique* (1867). Halévy regarded the book as derived from a Hebrew original; but the discovery (1886) of the Gizeh Greek fragment led some scholars to the conclusion that the work was originally in Aramaic, mainly on the ground that three Aramaic forms have been preserved in this fragment (*φουκα*, xviii. 8; *μανδοβαρα*, xxviii. 1; *βαβδηρα*, xxix. 1). Dr. Charles in his edition of 1893 favoured the conclusion of Halévy, but in the present edition he attempts to shew that part was originally written in Aramaic, part in Hebrew. This suggestion will stimulate further inquiry and cannot but be fruitful in results, though we much doubt whether any manuscript evidence will ever be forthcoming which will settle the question.

Side by side with the Ethiopic text is given the text of the Greek and Latin fragments; and students of the Greek will be glad of the opportunity of correcting the text published by

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Dr. Swete in vol. iii. of his edition of the Septuagint by that given here. The former text is unintelligible in parts and can only be emended by a comparison of the Ethiopic version. The passage in i. 5 (between οἱ ἐγρήγοροι and καὶ λήμψεται), which is not in the Ethiopic, is treated by Dr. Charles as a gloss, due to a passage in the Slavonic Enoch where the singing of the watchers is mentioned. His re-construction of v. 4–8 will commend itself, but for this we must refer the reader to the book.

English theological students will be glad to possess a copy of this work for the purpose of supplementing from its introduction of thirty-three pages what the learned author had already given to them in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (art. 'Apocalyptic Literature'); whilst all students of Ethiopic are under deep obligation to him for giving them what must now become the standard edition of the Ethiopic text. The Clarendon Press is to be congratulated on the appearance of the volume, the typography and arrangement of material being everything that could be desired.

The Apostolic Age in the Light of Modern Criticism. By J. H. Ropes, Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in Harvard University. (Hodder and Stoughton, 1906.) 6*s.* net.

This essay was prepared for a course of Lowell Institute Lectures, and its aim is 'to outline a sketch from which a popular audience might gain a stronger sense of the human historical reality which modern critical study finds in the men and events' of the Apostolic Age. It opens with a good chapter on the principles, results, and promise of criticism:

'Critical study of the past,' says the author, 'is characterized by one presupposition, namely, that the past can be understood, and by one rule, namely, to be thorough. . . . I shall try so to sketch the Apostolic age that it may be understood. . . . These men and women were like ourselves of flesh and blood. We must try to think of them as real, governed by human motives, thinking and acting like the human beings around us. They are not shadowy, though heroic, figures moving in a silent procession through a dimly-lighted scene. And yet they are not wholly like us. They had a background of ideas most of which we lack. They lacked many of the ruling conceptions of our thought. It is our task to reproduce this life as that of real men and at the same time to refrain from attributing to these our brethren that which belongs only to us late-comers in the human family. To withdraw ourselves from our modern ideas without transporting ourselves to an unearthly land of romance is difficult, but it must be attempted.'

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Professor Ropes has made the attempt with a large measure of success. He has not the magical power of repeating the tale of well-known events in such a manner that they become as good as new in the telling. Nor does his criticism of the documents, either as wholes or in their details, arrest attention. Yet it is evident that even the more commonplace paragraphs are the outcome of wide study and careful judgement, and this gives weight to the moderately conservative opinions on questions of date and authorship at which he has generally arrived. And his sober marshalling of facts often issues in a somewhat unexpected reflexion from which new trains of thought may start, as in the last lines of the chapter on 'Life in an Apostolic Church':

'It is a measure of the power and significance of Christianity itself when we think of the impression which the outward life and ways of these unsatisfactory, crude, sinning, superstitious groups of Christians would have made on one of us, and then remember that in truth "the hopes and fears of all the years" hung on their persistence in faith and hope and love.'

This passage suggests what really is characteristic of the book. Professor Ropes is more interested in characters than in events, in the unfolding of thought than in a series of achievements such as the planting of the Gospel in one place after another, or in the growth of organization. In his account of 'The Earliest Christian Missions' we feel his secret sympathy with the unknown brethren 'in Palestine, where . . . we are led to think of evangelization by quiet talk in homes and villages.' It is just possible that his own attitude towards the history of organization has influenced his decision against the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles; when, in another context, he draws attention to the 'Pauline germs of unpauline thought' contained in the other epistles, he unconsciously gives a hint that the problem of the Pastorals is more complicated than might be supposed from his brief treatment of it. But this concentration of interest on certain lines is not unsuitable in a sketch, and on the whole adds to the freshness and vividness of this essay. The beginnings of the Apostolic life and faith might be approached from many sides; Professor Ropes boldly takes the point of view of theology and makes his picture quite distinct:

'It was in the sudden agitation of those few days in Galilee, and apparently under the lead of Simon Peter that the decisive step was

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taken. Without that step the whole would have become but the happy dream of a few months, now ended by a rude awakening to the light of day. But the momentous step once taken, Jesus the Messiah once believed on as Lord in heaven, and the Church could not stop. What followed was not the gradual elevation of Jesus from humanity to deity; it was the gradual analysis of the problem set once for all at the outset, the slow definition of what was involved in this indefinite exaltation of the Messiah. . . . The battle was fought in the controversies of the fourth century . . . but the problem was fully set by the fishermen apostles when they turned their faces again towards Jerusalem.'

This really does give a glimpse at the heart of these fishermen Apostles, and though Mr. Ropes is not altogether guiltless of that abuse of language which makes 'theology' a dry thing opposed to the warmth of 'religion,' just as he gives an ignoble sense to the word 'ascetic,' the whole spirit of his writing is to trust the intimate relation of theology with human life, and thus to interpret history faithfully.

But of these fishermen Apostles he gives but glimpses; it is on St. Paul that he has lavished his care and affection. He justifies this:

'It is by no accident that the Apostle Paul looms up as the greatest single figure in the records and traditions of Christianity in the apostolic age. The opportunity we have of acquaintance with him is indeed partly due to his rare power of self-expression and delight in it. But it is also, and in no less measure, due to the real greatness of the man, without which the expressions of himself would not have been called forth, would not have been interesting to his contemporaries, and would not have been preserved for us.'

Much that is deepest in the Apostle's mind is shrewdly and fairly made visible; but when we read that 'from the time when Martin Luther rediscovered—or shall we say, first fully apprehended—the meaning of Paul to the present time, no interpretation of Jesus Christ has approached in power over the hearts and lives of men that which the epistles of Paul the Apostle offer us,' it is indeed evident that the writer has been carried a little too far in one direction by his hero-worship. With respect to Luther, if that were the whole truth, St. Paul would have been less wonderful than he actually has proved; some things in St. Paul were understood before Luther, and some things in him were not understood by Luther. And the assertion that no interpretation has approached that of St. Paul in its power over the hearts and lives of men prepares the reader for a certain weakness which as a matter of fact is found in this

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book—namely, that the Johannine literature is not treated with proportionate fulness or enthusiasm. To the Apocalypse only four brief allusions are made (one of which is numbered wrongly in the index). But the Apocalypse is surely a document of primary importance for the history of the Apostolic Age. The later it is dated the more important in one way it becomes. 'Jewish Christianity, divorced from the vigorous life of the active world, was tossed, degenerate, into the mixed pot of oriental religious syncretism,' writes Mr. Ropes, in a sense quite truly. But that which once has lived is hard to kill, and how much Jewish Christianity lived on till perhaps the reign of Domitian is a question which the existence of the Apocalypse forbids us to shirk. Of course Professor Ropes' interest in the Johannine literature is unfeignedly deep, though his enthusiasm for St. Paul has hardly left him space to make the most of it. His critical remarks on the Fourth Gospel are wise and honest so far as they go, but issue in what is little more than a phrase which puts the question by: 'How far we may rely on the Fourth Gospel for statements of historic fact is the most difficult question of all. Its chief value lies perhaps rather in the realm of truth than of fact.' And, carefully though he guards his words, he does pitch the pipe too low when he contrasts this theology, as practically becoming a step towards formality, with the Pauline, which is incapable of being thus used and wherever grasped makes a fresh starting point for pure and vigorous life:

> 'His knowledge itself is not mere knowledge of facts, but is a noble personal acquaintance with the character of God; but for that very reason he gives to the term knowledge a place in his thought which it did not hold with Paul. And thus he joined in the inevitable progress toward a stage where acceptance of or submission to a body of doctrine, and not merely personal faith in Christ and loving devotion to him, was to be demanded of every one who would gain entrance to the Christian Church.'

This stage belonged to what Professor Ropes calls Catholic Christianity, which appeared 'when toward the end of the second century the Church found itself well established, with Christian sacred books, distinct ritual, sacraments, creed, and episcopal organization.' With that period he has nothing to do, but not the least pleasing part of his essay describes the period of transition with which the Apostolic age closes. This is treated with a fairness that is even touching. For, as befits an historian, Professor Ropes is in love with his own period of 'fresh enthusiasm and sense of immediate divine inspiration,'

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and he proves his breadth and sincerity when he writes that the change 'was not . . . a mere fall in men's character and ideals from the purity of primitive Christianity. Nor was it a mere substitution of the more complete and highly organized for the primitive and simple. It was such a growth as all human life shows, wherever life exists—the change accompanied by some gains and some losses, by which the various needs and impulses of the human spirit receive in successive ages their satisfaction, and which at the same time reflects the changing environment.' Thus was the transition begun from 'the apostolic age' with 'its own type, primitive, enthusiastic, unformed, and free,' to 'the Great Church' which alone 'could permanently survive in the Great World.' That earlier 'character Christianity gradually lost and never can regain; for us it can be recovered only as a refreshing and inspiring picture from the past,' and perhaps the chief lesson to be learnt from the study of the first centuries is that 'the apostolic age . . . handed on to the following period not what it had itself been, but what it had gained and what it was becoming.'

The book ends with a review of 'Ancient and Modern Study of the Apostolic Age,' which is too brief to do justice to the delicacy and complexity of the problems now engaging scholars, though a thoughtful reader will realize from what is said that they are both delicate and complex, and cannot be settled by that immediate Yes or No, which the uninstructed strangely expect of honest men. The progress of criticism during the first half of the nineteenth century is admirably sketched in broad lines.

II.—Comparative Religion.

An Inquiry into the Principles of Modern Theosophy. With an Appendix containing a Paper on *Pantheism.* By Pestonji Ardeshir Wadia, M.A., Professor of History and Political Economy, Gujarat College. (Bombay: B. T. Anklesaria, Parsi Bazaar Street.)

What is Theosophy? For those of us in England who have approached it with some knowledge of Indian thought its characteristic elements have no novelty. Some of them we knew to be long-established doctrines of the Indian schools, and others are as distinctive of the West. In its primary conceptions and systematic structure we recognized the clear marks of its Indian parentage; but it was equally clear that this characteristically Eastern system had come to us through Western minds, and, in the transition, had

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picked up certain fragments of Western thought and taken a certain distinctive tone from Western feeling. But it seemed obvious that the Western elements, although not the least attractive, had not been assimilated. These conclusions are abundantly confirmed by Professor Wadia's acute and interesting book. He takes us back, behind all the plausible glosses of amiable Western apologists and interpreters, to the Eastern *principia* of Theosophy, and remorselessly sets them forth in all their philosophical inadequacy and half-mythological crudity.

Professor Wadia begins by a criticism of the Theosophical Absolute. According to his account of it, this is a 'false Infinite'—a conception reached by the archaic and obsolete method of removing all the limitations that mark off finite things from each other. The resultant conception is that of Pure Being, or, rather, of *mere* Being—of Being beyond the categories, of Being which cannot be the subject of any predicate, for all predication involves definition, and all definition involves limitation. The Absolute One of Theosophy is the unknowable *En Soph* of the Kabbala, the 'Nothing' of Basilides—'without thought, without purpose, without counsel, without passion, without desire'—the *Buthos* of the Ophites and Valentinians. It is also the Vedantists' *Brahma*, 'without parts, unbound by qualities, without action, without emotion, having no consciousness, such as is denoted by "I" and "Thou,"'—'other than the known and above the unknown' according to the Kena Upanishad—'passionless, pure, inert, peaceful, to be known by the negation of every epithet, not to be reached by any word or thought,' according to Sankaracharya's exposition of the Aitareya Upanishad.

Professor Wadia, who has transplanted to Gujarat the Hegelianism of Caird, and is at his best when most faithful to his master, calls the method by which Theosophy reaches its conception of the Absolute the *objective* method, and he regards it as the characteristic method of Pantheism—of Pantheism as distinguished from Idealism. It has had a long vogue in the history of philosophy, and is associated with many great names and prominent schools; but, in so far as it stops short at the removal of difference, it belongs to a closed chapter of thought. Professor Wadia himself is an advocate of what he calls the *subjective* method—the distinctive method, he says, of modern Idealism. To those who make use of the former method the Absolute is characteristically object. They start 'from the world' as a given thing, from 'some problem that is independent of knowledge,' and their distinctive endeavour is to 'explain Being or Reality, and then Knowledge.' Modern Idealism, however, according to Professor Wadia, regards the Absolute as characteristically subject,

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and the *datum* from which its interpretations start is not Being, but Knowledge. In other words, our most modern thinking starts with Consciousness, and therefore, Professor Wadia seems to think, its Absolute is always (primarily and in some more or less sufficient sense) subject—is always, that is, the ground of or agent in a world that is held to exist only in and for consciousness, and always takes its distinctive notes from this relation to its characteristic principiate. In former times, however, men started, not from the world as the content of a 'knowing,' but from the common-sense Realism which accepts the world as an existent independent of consciousness; and their resultant Absolute was, therefore, not subject, but object—the ground, primarily and distinctively, not of consciousness, but of 'objective' Reality. We cannot now discuss this interesting and well-known distinction, but in passing we would ask Professor Wadia two questions:

1. Does Mr. Bradley follow the 'subjective' method? and, if the answer to this be affirmative, what is the difference between his Absolute and that of the Theosophists?

2. How would Professor Wadia classify Hegel, that greatest of Idealists, who starts with the conception of Being, and develops it—in order to explain the world-process—to its logical completeness in the conception of Absolute Spirit?

Theosophy tells us—we are following Professor Wadia's account of it—that from the Absolute One proceed the Manifested God (the Logos) and the Root of Matter. The process is set forth as an act in time, but probably this is to be taken symbolically, for we are told also that it is eternal. Mrs. Besant endeavours to bring her Theosophy more or less into line with contemporary Idealism by representing the Root of Matter as arising from the self-limitation of the Logos; but Professor Wadia rightly points out that the Root of Matter and the Logos are independent derivatives from the Absolute, and have no intrinsic or essential connexion with each other. This very independence is alone sufficient to prevent the translation of Theosophy into an Idealism of a modern type, for in such an Idealism subject and object would be correlative—each what it is only in and through the relation subsisting between it and its correlate. It may, perhaps, be said that the Theosophical construction is, at the very worst, only archaic—that its mythological crudities are symbolic of the modern view, and are, indeed, already half corrected when Theosophy itself speaks of its primary derivatives from the Absolute as 'eternal.' We cannot persuade ourselves that Professor Wadia has fully considered this quite permissible contention. He insists that, according to Theosophy, the world of individuality

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has its commencement in an act that takes place *in time*. But even if we think of its procession as eternal, must we not admit that, if once the language of causation be used, the suggestion of temporal sequence is almost inevitable?

We are disposed to attach more importance to Professor Wadia's other argument—that drawn from the merely extrinsic and accidental character of the relation subsisting between the Manifested God and the Root of Matter. So far as we are aware, nothing in Indian thought—not even Sankara's 'analysis of subject and object' in his commentary upon the Vedanta-sutras—will warrant us in interpreting this relation, which implies no reciprocal dependence or determination, as crudely foreshadowing the Subject-Object relation of our contemporary Western thought.

As to Professor Wadia's distinction between Pantheism and Idealism, Pantheism, we understand him to say, is the characteristic result of the 'objective method' in philosophy, and Idealism the equally characteristic result of the 'subjective method.' According to Pantheism, '*God is all*' and '*the world is nothing*'; in other words, the Absolute is Reality and the universe of finite existents only Appearance. But has Idealism always kept clear of this conclusion, and has Pantheism always dealt so drastically with the world of particulars? According to every system of thought, except those which, like the Vaišeshika and the Bauddha systems described in the Sarva-Daršana-Samgraha, are given over to atomic materialism or sensationalism—according even to the scientific Monism of Professor Haeckel—the individual theory, as finite, is only incompletely real, but according to all systems—except, it may be, those dominated by the doctrine of Maya—it has *some* degree of reality.

Is it, then, true to say that Pantheism asserts the nothingness of the world, and asserts it distinctively? The Vedanta, with its doctrine of Maya (illusion), makes the nearest approach to this assertion; and perhaps it is not unfair to suggest that, in this particular, Professor Wadia has allowed himself to be too strongly influenced by his Indian surroundings.

Again, Professor Wadia tells us that whereas Idealism adequately safeguards the idea of individuality by its doctrine of self-realization, Pantheism sets before the individual no other term than that of absorption into a characterless Absolute. But does Idealism always, in fact, adequately safeguard the conception of individuality? Does it not sometimes set forth the difference between finite individuals and the Absolute as a temporary difference—one that will be overcome in the final construction of Reality? And has not Christian

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theology, when it has joined forces with Idealism, more than once suffered at least verbal mischief from this pantheistic strain in its ally?

Moreover, is the Absolute of Pantheism always and of necessity characterless? The Vedantists use language concerning Brahma that elicited from Professor Monier-Williams this comment: 'If this be true, then pure Being must be almost identical with pure Nothing.' We all know, too, that a similar comment upon the Being of Hegel has sometimes passed for sound criticism. We know also, however, that the Being of Hegel is the plenitude of Reality, and can be supposed characterless only before the dialectic process has explicated its content. As for Brahma, 'all things live upon portions of its joy.' It is, indeed, 'the last residuum of all abstraction,' but that residuum, says Sankaracharya, 'is not nonentity, but entity.' According to the Panini-Daršana, 'the unchangeable Supreme Brahman' is 'the existent joy-thought.' Vishnu, 'the undecaying Lord,' is described by Ananda-tirtha as 'exempt from imperfections' and 'of inexhaustible excellences. Ananda-tirtha, however, was a strenuous opponent of the Vedantin Monism, and his followers—the Madhvas—maintain the tradition of his teaching. But other Vaishnavas are distinctively Pantheistic. Thus, according to the Pancharatras, Vishnu is 'the efficient and the material cause of the universe,' and also 'its superintending and ruling Providence.' Yet he is far from characterless, for he has the six pre-eminent qualities of knowledge, power, strength, irresistible will, vigour, and energy, and is described as 'infinitely compassionate,' 'tender to those devoted to him,' 'passionless, deathless, without sorrow, without anger, desiring truth, true in purpose.'

The form of Šivaism set forth in the Pratyabhijna-Daršana, or Recognitive System, is also Pantheistic. Maheśvara, the absolute Lord, who creates all things by his mere will, is 'at once other than and the same with the several cognitions and *cognita*.' 'He is without plurality and difference, as transcending all limitations of space, time and figure.' Yet he 'is the reality of unintermitted self-luminousness, beatitude, and independence'—'the universal soul, in which there is no perfection unrealised.'

Professor Wadia rightly says that Theosophy does not explain *why* the Absolute puts forth the world of finite particulars—does not assign any cause for the procession (be it eternal or temporal) of the Logos and the Root of Matter. It leaves that procession unreasoned, and, because unreasoned, merely factual. But Du Prel's 'dramatic sundering' of the Absolute is also merely factual, and Hegel's transition from the Kingdom of the Father to the Kingdom

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of the Son is equally unreasoned. No Kabbalist, Gnostic or Neo-Platonist has given us a reasoned account of Emanation, nor has any Zoroastrian explained the derivation of Spentô-Mainyush and Angra-Mainyush from Zrawana Akarana. In this matter even the Christian Scriptures do not help us. We may find in the New Testament suggestions of a cosmological end, but why God made *that* end His end—why He created the heavens and the earth—we do not know and cannot surmise. We have no psychology of the Divine Life that can explain the act of creation. We are often told that philosophy is not called upon to answer Alice's ultimate question, 'Why should there be anything?' Neither is it bound to explain the origin of finite things. The world of finite determinations is a *datum* for philosophy, and philosophy has sufficiently accomplished its work when it has reasonably referred that world to a sufficing ground and a sufficing end. To go beyond this—to penetrate into the secrets of the Divine Nature, were that adventure possible, and shew why the 'mirific words' were spoken—would, at the most, only gratify a merely speculative curiosity; and we are not here merely to speculate, but to live.

Our Western Theosophists connect Reincarnation with sin. Whatever else it be, it is also, according to them, a process of moral purgation. It may be difficult (or, as Professor Wadia says, impossible) to find any trace of ethical character in the account given by Theosophists of the first and last stages of man's re-incarnating life, but the stage covered by his historical experience is confessedly ethical, and to man in this middle state the doctrine of Reincarnation is presented by Western Theosophists as a doctrine of sin and its consequences. Is not this a Western innovation? In the ordinary thought of India there is no place for our Christian conception of sin. According to pre-Buddhistic thought, the Re-incarnation of man was one phase of a general world-process which was essentially non-ethical in character, and the only way of escape from it was through the observances of a religion which confined its benefits within narrow lines of hereditary privilege. Thence arose the characteristic problem of later Indian thought: How to emancipate the unprivileged. Each school solved this problem in its own way; but although the resultant cosmologies are widely different, and although some schools differ widely from others upon important points in logic and philosophy, all schools agree in their fundamental thought concerning the Liberation which they set forth as man's chief end, and profess to make attainable.

Bondage, which results in Reincarnation, arises, we are told, from ignorance, or, rather, from false notions. If these be corrected

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the soul is liberated. All the Indian schools travel far along the road to pessimism. The characteristic note of man's historical experience is pain. It would be wrong to say that existence, *as such*, involves pain, but certainly every form of man's ordinary experience involves pain. Indian thinkers, however, did not infer, as some Westerns have, that the wise man will therefore negative 'the will to be,' for, except the Charvakas and certain Buddhists, they all believed the soul to be eternal—if not in its individuality, at least in its essence. Therefore Liberation—the cessation of pain—must be reached, if it be reached at all, by a separation of all that holds the soul to ordinary experience. Pain has its ground in experience—not in experience as such, but in experience as experience of particulars. In other words, pain arises from the implication of the soul in the world of matter and through sensory experience. Liberation, therefore, can be reached only by the dissociation of the soul from that world and that experience. The several intellectual and practical disciplines elaborated by Indian thought are so many ways of achieving this dissociation. It is a fundamental conception, common to most of the great schools of Indian philosophy, that the soul is entirely distinct from the world and from every constitutive element in experience. Every factor in the emotional, intellectual and volitional life—even self-consciousness—pertains not to the soul itself, but to the matter in which it is involved. This is most clearly set forth in the Sankhya-Darśana, which represents the soul as a mirror—a mere beholder of experience, but not in any sense an agent or patient therein. In congruity with this conception of the soul we find emancipation represented as effected, not by conversion of the will, but by an 'enlightenment' which lifts the soul above all concrete particulars, and leaves it, without content or passion, as the abstract form of pure knowledge—as a mere 'awareness' that has no object. Some of the Indian schools do, indeed, set forth a most interesting doctrine of faith, but—certainly in *some*, and we are inclined to think in *all*—faith is but a transitory means, of which the end is *gnosis*. But all this deserves more discussion than we have now space for.

What are the Indian affinities of Theosophy? As we have already seen, Theosophy teaches that the world of finite existence has its ground in the Absolute, from which proceeds (by a temporal or eternal act) two cosmological principles, viz., the Root of Matter (*Mula-Prakriti*) and the Manifested God, or Logos (Išvara). Now, the first of these conceptions is characteristically Sankhya. But the pure Sankhya knows of no Absolute. Its *Mula-Prakriti* is an independent and underived principle (*genetrix*

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ingenita), and because underived is called the Rootless Root—precisely what Theosophy calls the Absolute. Patanjali taught a theistic version of the Sankhya, but the result is only dualism. His God (Išvara) is not the Absolute, and *Mula-Prakriti* remains underived. In connexion with the worship of Šiva we also find theistic variants of the Sankhya, and in at least one form of Šivaism (the Pratyabhijna-Daršana, or Recognitive System) the Root of Matter is derived from God. But, according to this school, the Supreme Being (Mahešvara, 'who is at once other than and the same with the several cognitions and *cognita*') is Himself the Creator, and Himself, as Vasuguptacharya says, paints 'this world-picture without materials, without appliances, without a wall to paint it on'—there is no Demiurgus. The Vedanta speaks of an Absolute, a second principle (*Maya*), which is the substantial cause of the phenomenal world, and a secondary God (Išvara), and Vedantin schoolmen expressly identify *Maya* with *Mula-Prakriti*. But Maya is rather a correlate of the Absolute than a derivative from it, and Išvara is the Absolute itself conditioned by Maya—not a genuinely distinct and dependent principle. Probably the closest approximation to Theosophical doctrine is given us in the Bhagavad-gita, which shews either a synthesis of Sankhya and Vedantin thought, or else a form of thought in which the distinctive conceptions of the Sankhya, although more or less elaborated, have not yet separated themselves from the Vedanta.

The Theosophical conception of the Logos appears to be an importation from the West. No native Indian school—not even the Vedanta with its doctrine of Sphota—has a *Logos-lehre*.

Professor Wadia has left doubtful two points which are of considerable importance for a proper understanding of Theosophy and of its historical position:

(1) Are the souls of men derived from the Absolute immediately, or mediately through the Logos?

(2) How does the Logos fashion the world? By giving it rational form, as in Neo-Platonism, or, as the Sankhya affinities of Theosophy would lead us to infer, by causing, through 'mere proximity,' *Mula-Prakriti* to develop the hidden potentialities of its own nature?

Those of us who do, in fact, take that wide view of public affairs which the Lords Commissioners of H.M. Treasury rightly think so valuable for the administrative service of our Imperial Commonwealth, will find Professor Wadia's concluding chapter not the least interesting in his book. Professor Wadia asks: Can Theosophy satisfy the needs and aspirations of new

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India? And he answers in the negative, for the exceedingly suggestive reason that Theosophy gives no adequate account of personality. 'The future religion of India,' he tells us, '. . . will be a Hinduism in which the interpretations of a Sankara will have to be subordinated to the interpretations of a Ramanuga—in which, in other words, the Western ideal of the personality of God will have to be substituted for the Eastern ideal of impersonality.'

The old creeds are losing their hold upon Indian thought, and economic changes (even the purely secular reforms of the British Government) are breaking up the inherited social order. The question, therefore, naturally arises: If the most progressive minds in this disintegrating society take hold of our Western conception of personality, what will be the result? Will our method of government be elastic enough to give this new development of Indian life beneficent opportunity?

Transformed Hinduism. By the Author of *God the Beautiful.* Two vols. (London: P. Wellby, 1908.)

THIS title is a misnomer. The author shews how very much Hinduism *needs* to be transformed, but we fear that his book, though written with the best intentions and containing some striking passages, will not do much towards accomplishing the task. Though he sees much of the evils which prevail in modern Hinduism and the inadequacy of the various Hindu philosophies to check the spread of degraded religious ideas and practices, yet he has by no means entered into the spirit of Indian thought. It is difficult for anyone to do this who has not lived long in India in contact with thoughtful and learned Hindus; for otherwise he is certain to read Christian meanings into Hindu expressions, as this author has done throughout. He is aware how completely the philosophy of the six 'Orthodox' schools or *Darśanas* had, speaking generally, lost all idea of a personal God who could hear and answer prayer, but he does not seem to realize what this means, and how totally the conception of holiness in the Deity was and is lacking, not only among the fetish-worshippers and the devotees of the Śakti systems, but quite as much among the followers of Vallabhacharya, founder of a very influential Vaishnava sect. Yet he speaks of the worship of Vishnu in his transformations as 'the highest found in modern Hinduism' (vol. ii. pp. 185–186). Now 'highest' is a superlative and implies some degree of elevation in that to which it is applied. Only those who have failed to grasp the true character of, *e.g.* Krishna, one of the two main 'transformations' of Vishnu,

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will deem anything connected with his worship worthy of being styled aught but low and immoral.

The author endeavours to find certain truths underlying Hindu philosophy and religion, and he hopes, by exhibiting these clearly and perfecting the task left incomplete by the early thinkers who founded the Daršanas, to lead Hindus to accept what he styles the 'Religion of Beauty.' A good example of his style is afforded by the following passage:

'The "soul's union with God," as understood in modern thought and not in the defective way conceived by Patañjali, is a beautiful conception if it avoids the error generally made by the Brahmans of making it synonymous with "absorption" of the soul, instead of realizing that the glory of man's union with God consists in his being one with God in a union of thought, will, and desires; in other words in becoming morally and spiritually one with God' (vol. ii. p. 57).

Here and elsewhere the author takes conceptions essentially Christian without in any way acknowledging their source. Nay, he seems to fancy that they are the produce of the thought of the 'British Aryans,' in accepting which he exhorts the Aryans of India to 'join hands with their kinsmen from across the seven seas' (vol. i. p. 46), for he undertakes (Introduction) 'to explain . . . how modern Hinduism may be transformed into a Monotheistic Religion of Beauty, *without calling in the aid of other outside faiths.*' It may be too much nowadays to expect a writer on Oriental religions and philosophies to possess any knowledge at first hand of these systems, but surely we may expect to find him acquainted with history at least sufficiently to know whence came the modern English conception of God and of what union with Him means. This is not a question of opinion but of fact. Hinduism will doubtless be transformed one day, but Hindus will need *proof* that God has revealed Himself to man, as He has in Christ, not merely unproved though beautiful statements about His loveliness.

The number of misprints which these volumes contain is abnormal, and to what is the statement due that English is spoken by 1200 *millions* of people (vol. i. p. 42)? And why is *Vishnu* always called *Vishni*?

Islam, a Challenge to Faith. By S. M. Zwemer. (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1907.) $1.

The author of this able and interesting volume has long laboured in Bahrein, and other parts of Arabia, as a missionary,

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and his *Arabia, the Cradle of Islam* is well known. In the present work Dr. Zwemer, besides writing from his own personal knowledge of Muslim thought, and study of their religious books in the original Arabic, has consulted nearly all writers on the subject (of any authority, at least) in English, French, German, and even Dutch. The object of the book is to let people in England and America know the real facts about Islam, and thus to get Christians to understand and definitely to undertake the great task which lies before Christ's Church n the duty of evangelizing the Muslim world. We are first introduced to Arabia before the birth of Muhammad and are given a sketch, both able and concise, of the origin of the religion. Muhammad's own life and character are described on the authority of the earliest Arabic historians of the new movement. A chapter follows on the spread of Islam, and then come accounts of what Islam really is in creed, in practice, and in ethics. The present condition of the Muslim world, its social conditions, its illiteracy, and the intellectual movement now taking place through European influence, are described very graphically, and we are then told how Raymund Lull began to rouse Christians to the necessity of encountering Islam not with the sword but with the Gospel. A brief account of mission work among Muslims enforces its great importance and shews how unprecedented are the opportunities now afforded of evangelizing them. The book ends by reminding us of the old crusading cry, 'God wills it,' and summons us in this twentieth century to a nobler crusade, in which victory will be on the side of the Crucified, and the Crescent shall fade away before the dawning of the Sun of Righteousness.

III.—Apologetics and Philosophy of Religion.

Inspiration. By the late Frederick Watson, D.D. (S.P.C.K., 1907.) 4*s*.

Those who know the immeasurable value of the Bible through their own experience are not, as a rule, greatly disturbed by the results of the higher criticism. The inspiration of Scripture is to them a patent fact. But they do not find it easy, in view of modern knowledge, either to formulate their belief or to make clear to others the grounds upon which it rests. Belief in the inspiration of Scripture has widely been supposed to carry with it belief in its inerrancy, and to many it still seems almost a contradiction in terms to claim that the Bible

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is inspired by God, and yet to admit that by its errors and imperfections it bears its human origin written upon its face. Now Dr. Watson's book recognizes the facts in the very frankest way; several chapters are devoted to pointing out in detail how real those errors and imperfections are; but he shews us also most convincingly that, as he says, 'the presence and the effective presence of man' does 'not imply the absence of God.' How then can this be so? Inspiration is the giving of Divine life to 'something of the nature of a body,' and 'the bodies into which the Divine life is breathed condition its character and extent.' This thought is worked out carefully in chapter iii. Teaching has not only to be effectively given, but to be effectively received. The teacher must take us as we are; he must find points of contact between the thoughts which he wishes to communicate and the ideas which we have already made our own. To quote Dr. Watson's words—

'God's truth, if it is to be made ours, must needs come in a form suited to our imperfect and perverted capacities. . . . He wraps His teaching in imperfect images because they are understood by us; in fables which seem to us verities, in shadows which we deem to be substantial. . . . He adapts His revelation, not merely to our weakness and childishness, but also to our inherited and established falsehoods, and in particular to our false religious and moral ideas. He takes us as we are, as all human teachers must, in order to make us better than we are.'

Thus all revelation is of necessity progressive, and its method illustrates the Divine condescension to childish and fallen man. The Divine thought enters into the human soul, but is of necessity limited by the soul into which it enters. Moreover, the thought thus received has to be clothed in human words, which already possess definite meanings, and 'words limit and sometimes distort the things they picture.' If in great earthly matters it is often impossible to find words to express what we think, or feel, or see, how much more will this be the case in the expression of a Divine revelation! But then, if the possibilities of revelation are thus limited, how can we be confident that there has been a Divine revelation? The believer, of course, will appeal to his own experience. Here Dr. Watson makes use of an admirable illustration.

'The scientific analyst could tell us perhaps how a loaf was put together, he might be able to prove that it was not entirely free from adulteration, he might show that different kinds of materials were combined in it; he might be able to demonstrate very clearly that it had not been made, as we supposed, with the highest skill. He could

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further prove to us that the different elements of bread were not all alike nourishing. His analysis might be very useful up to a certain point, but we should wait for it without anxiety, and accept it without panic, being sure that, in spite of any imperfections, bread is the staff of our life.'

But then our personal experience is not available for others, and though the inspiration of Scripture, like all other spiritual truths, cannot be demonstrated to those without spiritual perception, we may give reasons for our belief helpful to those in whom it exists even in a slight degree. In chapters vi.–xiii. of his book the writer proceeds to shew us what these reasons are. The Bible differs from all other literature in the way in which its writers see God everywhere. This perception of God cannot reasonably be ascribed to fancy or fanaticism. The prophets and teachers of the Bible were the noblest of their race and generation, and the secret of strength in a long line of such teachers cannot be delusion. Again, the Bible differs from all other literature in the clearness of its recognition of the fact of sin. 'The teachers who regarded sin as a pure and righteous God must needs look upon it must have been filled with the Spirit of God.' Again, we have the facts of the wonderful harmony of the Biblical teaching, and of its freedom, for the most part, from anything which is not of the highest morality. This is all the more remarkable when we consider the difference of the books of the Bible one from another 'in regard to time, outward form, and even internal character,' and the low civilization and morality of Israel herself. 'The materials which her teachers worked up into her sacred books must have been full of the corruptions natural to rude and primitive times and nations.' We have to consider also the 'abidingness of the Biblical teaching.' We should have expected that 'the book of the narrow Jew would have carried within itself the elements of its own decay.' Yet the contrary is the case. The Ten Words remain the foundation of all Christian and most civilized morality. 'We sing almost daily psalms which give details of Israel's history and never think they are no concern of ours.' The prophets continue to be the recognized teachers of the principles of righteousness in every age of the world's history. The prophetic words have 'a life within them which makes them capable of adaptation and expansion.' It is impossible to give within a narrow compass even an outline of Dr. Watson's argument, but this may be sufficient to indicate the general lines on which it proceeds. The book contains also a specially valuable

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comparison of the religions of Babylon and of the Bible, a useful chapter on the canon and text of Holy Scripture, and another on the history of the doctrine of inspiration.

May we, in spite of our gratitude for this book, offer two criticisms upon it? In the first place, does not the true relation of the inspiration of the Bible to that of the Church need to be more clearly brought out? Of Dr. Watson's personal belief in the latter there can be no doubt. 'I would desire,' he says, 'to submit myself loyally to every teaching on matters of faith the Church has ever given or shall give.' Our dependence upon the judgement of the Church for our canon of Scripture is pointed out quite plainly. But nevertheless, in the absence of any definite discussion of the relation of the Bible to the Church, the effect of Dr. Watson's book may be in some cases to lead men to think of the Bible in an isolated way, instead of in connexion with the inspired body from which it proceeds and to which it belongs. Secondly, is Plotinus, whom Dr. Watson seems to quote with approval, right in saying that 'all allegorical teaching in the Church had its source in Philo'? There is a good deal of mystical interpretation of the Old Testament to be found in the New Testament itself, and in view of such passages as Luke xxiv. 26, 27 it is difficult not to think that some of it rests upon our Lord's authority. The whole question of the hidden sense of Scripture is one for believers in inspiration rather than for those in doubt about it, and we do not at all desire that it should find a prominent place in the book before us. But, as Thomas Aquinas says, it is in God's power not only to adapt words to the expression of His meaning but facts also, and we are loth to believe that such interpretation as that of St. Paul in Gal. iv. 21–31 is really nothing but a fancy, or that such wonderful parallels as those which exist between our Lord's experience, on the one hand, and the history of Joseph and of Israel as a nation, on the other, are due merely to coincidence.

The Apologetic of the New Testament. By E. F. Scott, M.A. 'Crown Theological Library.' (Williams and Norgate, 1907.) 5*s*.

In this volume of lectures Mr. Scott has surveyed the development of the doctrine of the Person of Jesus within the period represented by the New Testament writings. As the title suggests, the subject is treated in connexion with the main forces which confronted the Church at the time. These were the

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Jewish doctrine of a national Messiah, Judaism as a system and religion, heathenism and gnosticism. In the effort to state the Christian position against the legalism of the Jew, the materialism of the heathen, and the intellectualism of the gnostic, the New Testament writers gradually advanced from the position that Jesus was the national Messiah to the fuller expression of His absolute worth which is conveyed by the doctrine of the Logos. The book embodies a claim based upon this development to lay aside creeds and other expressions of faith, to return to the Personality of Jesus, and His claim to the world's faith and obedience, and to leave the present age to express this faith in its own way just as was done in the first century. Reinterpretation to each generation is of course essential, and this must be in the terms of its own thought, but we cannot accept the conclusion that those terms are truest which will best express for each man his own individual faith.

There are several points in the course of the analysis which challenge criticism. For instance, it is asserted that St. Paul accepts the Greek analysis of human nature, and regards the flesh as evil. This is of course based upon Romans vii., but misrepresents St. Paul's position. The point is of importance, as Mr. Scott, in putting forth the claim for Christianity as a purely spiritual religion, loses sight of the truth enshrined in the doctrine of the Incarnation, that by His coming in the flesh the Son of God consecrated the visible and material to express and convey that which is inward and spiritual. Granted this, there is no reason for discarding the development of sacramental doctrine as merely affording that palpable guarantee of the higher life, required by the heathen mind, which so influenced St. Paul that he was unconsciously led to attribute to these rites a real efficacy.

In the sketch of the Messianic teaching of the Apostles, insufficient account is taken of our Lord's view of His Messiahship, in connexion especially with His wide use of Apocalyptic language. How widely He employed such language may be gathered from Dr. Sanday's lectures on *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*. The non-recognition of this has led Mr. Scott to assign to St. Paul the Apocalyptic view of Jesus as the Son of man Who came down from heaven. Consequently all this side of the Christian faith is treated as a mere form of statement, a stage in the development of the truth, which may now be left behind. The fact is that just as these New Testament answers to Judaism, etc., have permanent value, so the Church's expression

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of this in Creed and Sacraments has permanent value also. These are as truly fundamental as the New Testament writings and presentation of the Life and Person of our Lord.

To Christ through Criticism. By R. W. SEAVER, M.A., B.D. (T. and T. Clark, 1907.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

THIS book is based upon the Donnellan Lectures delivered before the University of Dublin in the year 1905–6, and is an attempt to commend Christianity to those 'Christian people whom the traditional presentation' of the faith 'has ceased to influence.' The writer accepts whole-heartedly the obligation which lies on every thinking man to question the Bible as he would question any other literary or historical authority, and he is not afraid of what will result from such inquiry. He deprecates that attitude of the Church which has sometimes 'been much more alive to Christ's presence in the Old Testament than to His absence,' and 'has so read Him into its pages that the "caterpillar becomes a butterfly" before the time, and all sense of development, progress, growth, in revelation is destroyed.' His conclusion from the criticism of the New Testament is that 'the assertion of the spiritual Christ has been altogether strengthened.' With these general results we unhesitatingly agree; and, indeed, both the tone and the purpose of the book are admirable, clearly expressive of the writer's own beliefs, and certainly needed in view of the alarms and misunderstandings which handicap the most reverent criticism. In points of detail the book is much stronger on the philosophical than on the critical side. We cannot, for instance, admit such a question as 'How shall we account for the fact that the oral tradition ends with the Crucifixion and omits the supreme event of the Resurrection?' in view of the strong probability (suggested by the resemblance between St. Mark xvi. 1–8 and St. Matthew xxviii. 1–8) that the missing part of St. Mark contained one appearance in Galilee closely resembling that in St. Matthew. Nor, again, is it true to say that the 'passages peculiar to St. Matthew and St. Luke, and absent from St. Mark . . . deal chiefly with the infancy of Jesus and His appearances after the Resurrection.' The first chapter, called 'The New Theology,' is somewhat discursive, but chapters v. and ix. ('The Miraculous Element' and 'The Christian Character') are exactly to the point. A few phrases with regard to miracles may be quoted:

'A false philosophic theory compelled orthodox defenders of Christianity to attach to the question of miracles an altogether misplaced

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importance.' 'The laws of God's working we learn from observation, not from imagination; from a study of what in fact He has done, not from a theory of what we presume He should have done.' 'The question is essentially a particular one. Is this or that miracle or series of miracles credible, in view of the facts as a whole?' 'To accept the exercise of human will-power as non-contradictory of the uniformity of nature, while denying the intervention of divine, is to occupy an impossible position.' 'The works which Jesus did, the Gospels assure us, were wrought, not through power lodged in Himself as its source, but by the power of His Father in answer to prayer, working through His obedient manhood.'

Chapter ix. is written from the living experience of the Christian man.

There are two weak points in the work. Mr. Seaver is too much inclined to tell his readers what other people say, instead of speaking for himself, and he has let pass too many misprints. There is a good Index and a Bibliography, but the books and authors might be described a little more exactly; *e.g.*, on p. 140 the author's name is put wrongly, while on pp. 164–5 two authors are quoted and pages given, but there is nothing to shew what books are meant.

In Defence; A Plea for the Faith. By SIR ROBERT ANDERSON, K.C.B., LL.D. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1907.) 5*s.*

IN this volume Sir Robert Anderson has placed together twelve essays on very different subjects; of which it may be sufficient to mention three as indicating the general character of the book, namely, the problem of the origin of life, questions raised by Mr. Balfour's *Defence of Philosophic Doubt*, and the 'higher criticism,' this last term being used, as Sir Robert Anderson is careful to explain, in its slang and not in its scientific sense. The standpoint from which these subjects are discussed is described by the author as 'scepticism—the true scepticism which tests everything, not the sham sort which credulously accepts anything that tends to discredit the Bible.' From this standpoint he reaches conclusions uniformly favourable to the Christian religion, including as a necessary part of such conclusions the rejection of the 'higher criticism' in the sense in which he uses the term. Throughout the book his conviction and earnestness and sincerity are always to be discerned; and his arguments are frequently acute and penetrating and pertinent. Yet we cannot say that we think it a successful or helpful work.

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It is greatly marred by the tone of asperity too often adopted, and by a spirit of unfairness in some matters which we believe that the author, if he were conscious of it, would be among the first to regret. And, in spite of acuteness and ability, he seems to us to fail continually to make distinctions which are real and of moment, and need to be recognized if there is to be profitable discussion of the matters concerned.

Some chapters of the book were published anonymously in 1889 under the title *A Doubter's Doubts about Science and Religion*, and then received cordial approval, accompanied by a word of criticism, from Mr. Gladstone. 10s. 6*d*.

The Problem of Faith and Freedom in the Last Two Centuries. By JOHN OMAN, M.A., B.D., D.Phil. (Hodder and Stoughton, 1906.) 10s. 6*d*.

THIS is a book of great ability and of great interest. The problem of freedom in all its aspects is one of intense importance at the present time. Freedom, as Mr. Oman points out, is neither a merely intellectual matter, nor a merely political matter, nor a merely social matter; 'in the last issue, freedom must be a religious question, a question not of the things we see, but of victory over them by the things unseen.' If he seems at times to press even to exaggeration the importance of freedom, it is simply from his conviction that true faith and morality in the present, and the establishment of God's kingdom in the future, are alike impossible without it.

The greater part of the book is occupied, as its title would lead us to expect, with a review of the teaching given upon this subject by the great religious writers of the last two centuries. Mr. Oman is an admirable historian of opinion. The views of the writers whom he passes under review are given, with perhaps the single exception of Newman, clearly and fairly; we might even say that greater justice is done to Butler's views than he does to them himself. The development and connexion of thought are traced in an illuminating way, while the epigrammatic style stamps strongly upon the mind what Mr. Oman desires to say. It may be well to give a few examples of his power in this respect.

'The real significance of Descartes was that he saw clearly the impossibility of finding any basis for truth except in man himself. His error was in thinking that that restricted us to the understanding.'

'Newman is the Romanticist seeking first of all perfection for his work of art.'

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'To Hegel and even to Schleiermacher freedom was a stage of progress; to Ritschl progress is a work of freedom.'

It is mainly in the sympathetic exposition of the teaching of others, and in criticism of it, that the writer's own views come out. His aim, he says, is to shew us that

'alongside of the development of the idea of a system of law enclosing us round in its great mechanical network, there has gone a development of the idea of freedom with a more conscious realization of the great issues of faith which it involves; and as the former has been tested in the laboratory of science, the latter has been tested in the great laboratory we call life.'

And again—

'The man who does great things in religion, as in life, is the man who has large visions and who is prepared to realize them in the sweat of his brow.'

We are made to feel by the whole book, not only that the freedom of the will must be insisted upon, if we are to have any satisfying conception of the meaning and purpose of the world, but also that we must claim and act upon the freedom in which we believe. Few better tonics can be imagined than Mr. Oman's book either for those who are inclined to a fatalistic view of life from misunderstanding of the teachings of physical science, or for those who are inclined to submit themselves blindly to some external authority, instead of rising up to their responsibilities of thought and action.

If we have any quarrel with Mr. Oman it is that he does not quite give to external authority, or indeed to the 'external' generally, its necessary place. He reproduces indeed with apparent approval the teaching of writers like Coleridge, Hofmann, and Frank, in whom the two sides of the truth are admirably balanced; there is not much that we should wish to urge which could not be expressed in his own words; but we feel nevertheless that one who had not previously thought much about the subject might derive from his book a seriously one-sided impression. For example, Mr. Oman surely depreciates too much the 'external' evidences of Christianity. It is no doubt quite true that the defence of Christianity must be predominantly 'not a citadel, but a temple'; we cannot rightly accept a religion forced upon us, as Paley would force it, by arguments almost exclusively intellectual. But does not Mr. Oman go too far in the opposite direction? Is, he asks, Christianity

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'still capable of making the same impression as it did when the Apostles went, unsupported by anything but the Gospel itself, to men prepared for its reception by no kind of tradition? Is it a Gospel, good news of God, and, like other good news, its own evidence? Can it win the mind by its inner harmony, the conscience by giving peace, the will by the regeneration of love, the heart by the true fellowship? In that case it should have its sufficient enforcement in the great experience and the great fellowship which, during the centuries, it has created, a fellowship to which we may ourselves belong and an experience we may ourselves verify.'

That puts the power of the internal evidences truly and beautifully—we quote the passage as much for its own sake as in order to criticize it—but surely it depreciates the external too much. The Apostles did not in fact support their appeal only by the Gospel itself. They supported it by the witness of Old Testament prophecy, by the Resurrection as an historic fact displaying the Father's acceptance of the life and work of His Son, and by the wonder-working power present with them in their work, while the Jewish and semi-Jewish audiences to which they appealed had a great deal of tradition to dispose them to the acceptance of the message. We may not to-day set forth the external evidences quite in the Apostles' way, but we must surely set them forth in our own; the heavenly Jerusalem has twelve gates, and we must open them all; there are those who feel strongly the appeal of the Christian Gospel who will not be able to agree with Mr. Oman that it is its own sufficient evidence, but who will fear rather (apart from external evidence) that it is too good to be true.

We must urge the same criticism in relation to the writer's treatment of the relation of the Church to the individual. Too often he presents us with antitheses, which we cannot feel to be altogether real ones. He contrasts, for example, salvation by an institution with salvation by regeneration, a worship which makes use of 'the sensuous and material' with a worship 'with its foundations deep in our moral nature,' and the Church of the saints with the Church of the hierarchy. But a Catholic thinker will insist that incorporation into the Church which is Christ's Body brings regeneration with it; he will point out that even a worship whose foundations are deep in our moral nature must nevertheless, if it is a worship of men still in the body, make use of the sensuous and material; above all he will refuse to separate in this absolute way the Church of the saints from the Church of the hierarchy. Mr. Oman himself, with his usual

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candour, says of the English Tractarians that they looked to 'a system which has grown out of life and action, which has grown out of reverence and devotion and self-sacrifice.' Just so. Imperfect as the Church may be, it is none the less the kingdom of God in the making, an end as well as a means, and so cannot, as Mr. Oman would wish, be seeking to abolish itself. To the Catholic its authority at its best is one with the authority of the saints, of the experts in the spiritual life, and it is for that reason that he regards it as he does. He looks indeed for the time when his own individual mind both as to truth and practice will be one with the mind of the Church, and the obedience that he renders an expression of that perfect freedom to which God will then have led him; but he knows that it cannot be so yet, he does not expect it ever completely to be so during this earthly life; and meanwhile he finds the truest freedom yet possible for him in yielding himself not to an authority that overbears him by physical or intellectual pressure, but to an authority which appeals more or less to every side of his nature, and whose value is more and more verified in experience. Mr. Oman, to say the truth, does not seem to understand even the Roman conception of authority. The Roman Catholic regards the authority to which he submits as an authority which represents the mind of the Spirit, and his own self-surrender as due not simply to intellectual arguments, but to the same Spirit's illumination and inspiration. The real difficulty for most of us is as to the extent to which we should subordinate our own views to an authority which we regard as higher than our own, and yet as not strictly infallible, and here Mr. Oman does not help us as much as he does in some other directions.

IV.—Sermons and Addresses.

The Temptation of Our Lord, considered as related to the Ministry and as a Revelation of His Person. By H. J. C. Knight, B.D., Principal of the Clergy Training School, Cambridge. The 'Hulsean Lectures,' 1905–6. (Longmans, 1907.) 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

Mr. Knight's Hulsean Lectures greatly lend themselves to quotation, and we should like to have space to quote from them very fully indeed. Much attention has been given by modern theologians to our Lord's temptation—Mr. Knight's treatment of the subject reminds us especially of Mr. Latham's in *Pastor Pastorum*—but we do not think that we have anywhere else so full and helpful an exposition as this.

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The book, as its full title implies, has two purposes. Firstly, it is 'a study of the temptation of our Lord in its relation to His ministry, of the contribution which the forty days made to that perfect service, of the principles which during them received His sanction, and which endorsed by that sanction lay a present and enduring obligation on the ministry of His Body, the Church.' It is this which occupies us in the first three lectures, and here Mr. Knight is dealing with ground which Mr. Latham had already traversed. But, secondly, the book is an effort 'to see the revelation of the Person of Christ which that study affords as a confirmation of our faith in Him.' It is this which occupies us in the fourth lecture. Mr. Knight brings our Lord's temptation into the closest connexion with His Baptism, shewing very fully the knowledge which our Lord would have received from the Old Testament as to the nature and conditions of His work, and the way in which the descent of the Holy Spirit and the Divine Voice would have brought home to Him both His calling to be the Davidic King Messiah and the promise of final victory over all antagonists to His kingdom. Accordingly he thinks that we should look for 'full human purpose' in our Lord's withdrawal into the wilderness. Our Lord, like Moses and Elijah of old, was called to prepare Himself by being for a time alone with God, and to deliberate as to the means He was to employ for the accomplishment of His work. It was this which involved the temptation, since without temptation 'there is no human determination and sanction of ends or means.'

From this Mr. Knight passes to the consideration of the temptations individually. In an admirable passage he lays down the conditions which any interpretation must satisfy.

'We demand an interpretation of which the actual record, its actual tenour, is substantially and genuinely patient. We demand, again, an interpretation of each particular temptation which shall present each as appropriate to its particular scene. . . . But further—and this is more important—we seek an interpretation of each act of the whole which will be appropriate, so far as human judgment can judge appropriate, to the august person of the Saviour as man, and to no other in the same degree; and one which will present each particular temptation as appropriate to His immediate condition, to that particular crisis in His human life, in a degree in which it would have been less appropriate at any other.'

His own exegesis generally seems to us to satisfy these conditions very well. The three temptations, he says, present our Lord 'as dealing with three tremendous subjects: His Own

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Person; the Kingdom; and Mankind. In each He rejects that which is not of God, but does so on appeal to principles with which the way rejected is incompatible.' Thus the first temptation, in Mr. Knight's view, was to be unfaithful to the principle of the Incarnation, 'to forego all that human preparation for the ministry of which abstinence from food, the bodily fast, was a means and outward expression; to regard such discipline and preparation as not needed for the efficient ministry of the Messiah who was, and knew Himself to be, He in whom dwelt all the plentitude (*sic*) of the Divine Nature.' Mr. Knight in his third lecture draws from this interpretation such valuable lessons for the Church to-day that we are glad that he has adopted it; but we cannot say that it seems in this form quite to satisfy the first of his own canons. The Gospels clearly state that this temptation came at the end of the forty days. How could our Lord have been tempted to forego the human preparation when that preparation was already completed? Such a temptation might have assailed Him in the life at Nazareth, or at the beginning of the forty days, but surely not at the end of them. We do not at all disagree with Mr. Knight in his view that the temptation turned upon our Lord's position as the Son of God and the use to be made of His powers; but, accepting this, is not Mr. Latham's view far simpler, that our Lord was tempted, both here and throughout His ministry, to use His Divine powers to deliver Himself from the difficulties in which He found Himself involved, instead of leaving Himself to God, in the confidence that man's life depends upon obedience, and that where God's Will is done, His providence is sure? The second temptation—Mr. Knight adopts St. Luke's order—is, he thinks, connected with the 'mystery in the mind of Christ of the universality of His work, and of the suffering of death as the only means to its accomplishment.' The declaration of our Lord's Messiahship brought to Him the task of asserting and establishing God's kingdom 'not merely as men looked for it, but as He knew its nature and its character,' and this could only be by the way of the Cross. Satan offered our Lord a part of the realm prepared for Him on the condition of accepting Satan himself as His over-lord. The originality of Mr. Knight's treatment of this temptation lies in his insistence that Satan offered but a part of what our Lord was destined to attain, and in the way in which he brings the temptation into connexion both with our Lord's full knowledge of the nature of God's kingdom and with His mysterious horror of death. All this seems to be both true

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and valuable. But we think that Mr. Knight goes too far when he says, 'It is not the whole of his realm that the tempter offers to the Lord. As we form our idea of Satan from the mind of Christ, the idea of him as a will that was willing to leave itself with absolutely no field of rule is inconceivable.' Surely the tempter's meaning is made clear by the parallel passage, Rev. xiii. 2–4. There 'the dragon' gives his whole power to 'the beast,' but this in no way leaves him without a field of rule. He rules through the beast, his vassal, and the worship of the world is offered to him just 'because he gave his authority unto the beast.' So, we think, in the wilderness Satan offered to our Lord all that he had to offer, though of course not all that the Father destined for our Lord.

In dealing with the third temptation Mr. Knight rejects the view that it was a temptation to presumption in the form of putting the declaration of the Lord's Sonship to a test by an act of self-chosen peril. He thinks that our Lord was tempted to meet the temper of a people asking for signs by descending 'from a position which showed Him as one greater than the Temple into the midst of men in the holy city.' Space does not allow of our giving even in outline the arguments that are advanced for this view. The difficulty which it has to face is the context in the Old Testament of the words with which our Lord meets the temptation. Deut. vi. 16 looks back to Ex. xvii. 7, and the latter distinctly suggests the interpretation which Mr. Knight rejects. Is it likely that, had the temptation been what he supposes, our Lord would have chosen the particular words He did with which to meet it? At the same time we have never previously seen so strong arguments advanced for Mr. Knight's view as we find here; and once more, in view of the use which he makes of his interpretation we should be glad to think it correct. It was, he maintains, in accordance with the principle here accepted that our Lord ever refused to give evidence which must compel the acceptance of His claims, that the presence or absence of faith conditioned absolutely the exercise of His love's power to bless, and that He taught under the law that only those who willed to do God's will should know of the teaching.

The later pages of the book, in which it is pointed out how the laws of our Lord's ministry are binding to-day on the Church as His ministering Body, are of the greatest practical value for all who are called to carry on our Lord's work. That value is quite undiminished, even though here and there we may be

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unable fully to accept the exegesis upon which these appeals are based. Whether or not our Lord was tempted to forego the human seeking of spiritual power, and to dispense with constant spiritual discipline, to devote Himself to a 'service which stops short of being consciously and determinedly spiritual,' to 'evade the law that it is only to the will that bows to Him in repentance and faith that He comes in regenerating power and constantly clearer self-manifestation,' we ourselves are most certainly tempted in all these ways, and Mr. Knight's clear and persuasive warnings ought to be of the greatest help to all who read them.

Village Sermons. By the late B. F. WESTCOTT, Bishop of Durham. (Macmillan and Co.) 6s.

Village Sermons. Second series. By the late F. J. A. HORT, D.D. (Macmillan and Co.) 6s.

IT is strange to some of us, who remember these great teachers at the University, to think of them preaching to ordinary village congregations. But the last two years have given us two volumes of carefully prepared addresses, which we have reserved to place them side by side in the old familiar collocation. Both are full of deep thoughts of the things of God, and expressed in language so simple that they come within the comprehension of the mind of the average attendant at a real village church. Yet there is no part of their message omitted or obscured. The great principles which lay at the bottom of Dr. Westcott's social teaching are to be found here, and also clearer teaching as to the importance of the Church and its Sacraments than some have been able to find in his deeper works.

It is surely a lesson to all clergy, whose lives are passed among people of little education, to see how men of the mental calibre of Westcott and Hort prepared their discourses for their uneducated congregations. There are here to be found none of the little anecdotes or quotations from the poets which, while interesting enough in themselves, too often take the place of really well-thought-out expositions of Christian doctrine or duty. It is interesting to notice how carefully each one followed the order of the Christian year in the arrangement of his teaching, and how often the Scriptures read on the day are used to illustrate or form the ground of the lesson. The Collects, too, are often brought by Dr. Hort

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to yield up their stores of teaching, warning, and support. It is difficult to pick out any specially excellent sermon from such collections where all are so good. The printing of both volumes seems to have been well and carefully done, and we can only express our gratitude to the two sons for their loving preparation of their fathers' sermons for the press.

In Our Tongues: Some Thoughts for Readers of the English Bible. By R. H. KENNETT, Canon of Ely Cathedral, Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge. (Edward Arnold, 1907.) 3*s.* 6*d.*

THIS book suffers to some extent by the form in which it is given to the public. First, there is a paper of fifty pages dealing with Hebrew idioms in both Testaments, and the volume is then continued with a group of miscellaneous sermons. The result is that, having been prepared by what comes first for further guidance in the interpretation of the Bible, we come to the discourses that follow with a somewhat uncertain aim. If Professor Kennett had given us two volumes—one entirely composed of sermons, the other an extension of the valuable essay on Hebrew idioms—the reader would have been enabled to do him ampler justice, whether as teacher or preacher. The style both of essay and sermons is fresh and clear. The main impression of the book is the immense importance to New Testament interpretation of a knowledge of the principles and characteristics of Hebrew thought and speech. This is illustrated with regard to some of the fundamental ideas of the Gospel—for example, Redemption —and also of some of the characteristic arguments of St. Paul, such as that concerning Divine election. The whole paper is most useful as suggesting a point of view in approaching the study of the Old Testament, and of the New in the light of the Old, to persons of ordinary intelligence and what would be called a liberal education. The most striking of the sermons is that on Dives (why not the Rich Man?) and Lazarus, in which the preacher deprecates 'the attempt to deduce from this parable a description of the state hereafter.' It is in the course of this sermon that attention is called to 'the reiterated precept' of the Old Testament, 'Thou shalt not favour a poor man in his cause,' a wholesome corrective to the notion that Scripture reserves all its warnings for the rich. It would add greatly to the appreciation of some of these sermons if some clear indication were given at the outset of the occasions on which they were preached. The last, for example, as we soon begin to suspect but are not

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definitely informed till the end, was addressed to candidates for ordination. If one general criticism may be made, it may be said that while a knowledge of language will carry us a long way towards a due appreciation of thought, other considerations must not be omitted. Is there not, for example, a good deal more of purpose in the expression 'that it might be fulfilled' than perhaps, as a Hebraist, Professor Kennett would be willing to allow? Nothing is more striking in the Gospels than the conscious deliberation with which our Lord set Himself to fulfil the Scriptures.

All Saints' Sermons, 1905–1907. By W. R. INGE, D.D., Vicar of All Saints', Ennismore Gardens, and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. (Macmillan and Co., 1907.) 3*s.* 6*d.*

IT is impossible to take up this volume of parochial sermons without a sigh for the straits to which the exigencies of modern life and the impatience of popular audiences are reducing even our best preachers. Dr. Inge has a rare literary gift, has thought much and deeply, and comes to his congregation with a real message to deliver. In these sermons he touches many subjects of high moral and spiritual importance, and there is always an element of distinction in his method of approaching each. And yet most of them occupy little more than eight or nine pages of large print. They were probably delivered for the most part to a Sunday morning congregation of presumably more than average intelligence and culture. Thirty years ago such a congregation would have been willing to listen to sermons of twice the length, in which the preacher would really have been able to develop his theme. Is the present generation unworthy of a Maurice or a Liddon? The following paragraph in the concluding sermon on 'The Threefold Cord' is worth noting:

> 'Our gravest national fault, it seems to me, is contempt for knowledge and thought, unless they can be turned immediately to some practical end. I do not plead for honour to mere bookworms; but I am quite sure that the religious public make a great mistake in honouring some merely eloquent preacher or capable organiser, who has contributed nothing whatever to the thought of his generation, above a real *savant*, whether he is an orthodox Christian or not, and that the same mistake is made in politics and other fields.'

Is it not part of the impatience of our age to expect the man who has something to say, to say it in ten minutes?

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Christ's Service of Love. By HUGH BLACK, Professor of Practical Theology, Union Theological Seminary, New York. (Hodder and Stoughton, 1907.) 6*s.*

THIS is a series of short addresses (delivered on the occasion of Communion in the Presbyterian Church) to which the personality of their author lends more than ordinary interest. The Introduction admits us to the mind of the writer on the great subject of the Lord's Supper, to which he allows that due consideration has not been given in that section of Protestant Christendom of which he is a distinguished representative. To him, as to many whose general standpoint is very different from his own, it is the epitome of the Christian life, the central act of Christian worship. It is a Celebration, a Communion, a Eucharist, a Sacrament of Unity, and an Act of Consecration, and therefore an opportunity for devotional meditation rather than doctrinal preaching. These thoughts govern the sermons that follow, which studiously avoid rhetorical brilliance and that element of the 'intellectual treat' which has, perhaps, been too prominent a feature in Scottish preaching. But none the less they are often marked by great beauty of form and grace of diction.

A Call to Seamen, and other Sermons preached to Naval Cadets at the Royal Naval College, Osborne. By the Rev. F. S. HORAN, R.N., with a Preface by the BISHOP OF WINCHESTER. (John Murray, 1907.) 3*s.* 6*d.*

As the Bishop says in the Preface, these sermons must be judged by the occasion which produced them. They are the work of a manly man addressing boys of the public-school type, and they will be found fruitful in suggestion by all those who have the same difficult task to perform. They enlist in the service of Christ those sentiments of home, honour, and clean living which represent the best of this peculiarly engaging type of British youth. They may be recommended without reserve as models for the schoolmaster, no less than for the chaplain of cadets.

The Gospel Message. Sermons preached in St. Paul's Cathedral. By W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon and Chancellor. (Longmans, 1907.) 2*s.* net.

THESE are sermons which, if they are not equal to the best work that Canon Newbolt has given us, are nevertheless fairly typical of his style. Even a convinced Churchman may, perhaps,

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be inclined to doubt whether they do not shew too great a tendency to identify the essential truths of the Gospel with the forms in which they have been realized by the Church. But in an age of uncertainty there is a ring of conviction which does much to atone for hardness of statement. Still there will always be minds to whom it is not enough to say that the Creed, the Church, and the Sacraments have been and are the secret of a life that is not of this world, but who must know why this is so. The Christian apologist must be supplemented by the Christian Gnostic.

V.—Biography and General Literature.

The Lives of the British Saints. By S. Baring-Gould and J. Fisher. In four volumes. Vol. I. (London: C. J. Clark, 1907.) 10*s.* 6*d.*

It is very satisfactory that due attention should be paid at the present time to the Saints of Wales. In the recent historical literature of that country, and especially in two notable works, the *Modern Wales* of Sir John Rhŷs and Sir D. Brynmor Jones and the popular *History of Wales*, by Mr. Owen Edwards, they have been studiously ignored. Calvinistic Methodists and the like acknowledge no fellowship with the Saints of their forefathers. They are even disposed to deny their kinship, for the popular theory of the day is that the Celts were but a conquering minority, the ancestors of Saints in the past and churchgoers in the present, while the insurgent descendants of the oppressed majority, the Nonconformists of Wales, are of Basque or Berber descent and have little in common with their victors but the language they were forced to learn. This hypothesis rests upon evidence which is rejected by many competent judges; evidence which is, to say the least, not as substantial as the traditional Saint lore which is so distasteful to the scholars of the dominant party. The latter needs to be vigorously sifted and carefully interpreted, but the truth will not be discovered so long as it is ignored. We welcome therefore the very promising venture of Messrs. Baring-Gould and Fisher, and trust that the subscriptions necessary for its completion will be quickly forthcoming. The purchasers will acquire a very interesting and, in some respects, a very complete work. It is true that it labours under the disadvantage of being a pioneer undertaking, and that the materials collected, especially in the Introduction, are rather heaped together than digested, while the drawbacks which

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attend the methods of the antiquary who is not also an historian are often conspicuous. The Introduction, in fact, learned as it is, has not been clearly planned or carefully worked out, and we fail to recognize in it the practised pen of Mr. Baring-Gould. Yet it is a valuable accumulation of material, and the reader who is sufficiently trained and informed will derive much profit from it, though he will not find himself relieved from the need of reference to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, where St. Brendan, to name but one, is much more substantially treated. But in that work we should look in vain for the good stories well told which remind us of Mr. Baring-Gould's successes in fiction; or for the freedom which a literary man allows himself in irrelevance or conjecture. Of a certain St. Belerus nothing is known, so a life of Palladius (not quite up to date) is given under his name, which ends with the confession that 'it must be clearly understood that the identification of Palladius and Belerus is most uncertain, and is not a little fantastic.' Not much more serious than this is the speculative identification of persons and places, which is the bane, if it is also the charm, of Welsh archaeology, and is practised with uncritical freedom by our authors. But an undue rationalism is also indulged. A certain St. Benignus, an obscure Celtic hermit of Glastonbury, was beset on his way through the marshes by a 'monstrous form.' He withstood and flung it from him. No doubt it was engendered by the malaria which infected the fens of the Parret as much as those of the Ouse, where St. Fursey saw in his ague the visions which were the germ of those of Dante. But we are told that it was 'a practical joke played on the old fellow—and it turned out badly for the performer.' The explanation is psychologically improbable in the highest degree. But we must not be so unfair as to dwell upon the faults of a most interesting book, which aims at including all the Saints who were in any way connected with Wales or the Celtic parts of England, a scope which embraces a large number of those associated chiefly with Ireland, Scotland, and Brittany. How far and how late their fame might travel is seen by St. Arthmael, a sixth-century native of Glamorgan, who passed with many of his countrymen into Brittany. There, after almost a thousand years, he attracted the veneration of the English exile who became Henry VII., and received the honour of a statue in that King's chapel at Westminster under the name of St. Ermyn, and a chapel of his own near Christ Church, in the same neighbourhood.

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Dr. Pusey. By G. W. E. RUSSELL. 'Leaders of the Church, 1800–1900.' (Mowbray and Co., 1907.) 3*s.* 6*d.*

IT was no easy task to condense the story of the long and busy life of Dr. Pusey into one small volume, and we are not surprised to read that Mr. Russell only undertook the task because every one else declined to do it. However, he has given us a readable and sufficient account of the life and work of a great man, which many will be glad to possess for whom the great Life is too expensive or too detailed. This volume would form a useful handbook introductory to the study of the larger work.

Dr. Pusey's name will always be associated with the wonderfu revival in the Church of England known as the Oxford Movement, long after the names of many of the other workers have been forgotten. In his lifetime the unpopularity of the Movement was centred round his own head, and at one time his name provided a nickname for those who accepted the teaching of the Oxford leaders. We have here just the outline of his early training, education and life work that is needed, and Mr. Russell's book will be widely read. He is not afraid to point out the mistakes of Dr. Pusey, and the picture he gives is thoroughly human in its interest. But why does Mr. Russell use so unusual a word as 'Episcopolator' to describe Newman's attitude towards the Bishops? We doubt whether the controversy with the parent of Father Ignatius deserves the fifteen pages which Mr. Russell devotes to it in this volume. It is inserted to shew the interest which Dr. Pusey took in the revival of community life among men in England, but that could have been better described in some other way. The Appendices giving the formal documents drawn up by Dr. Pusey on such subjects as the Holy Eucharist, Fasting Communion, and Confession, are most valuable, and we are glad to see them included in this work which is intended to reach the people.

George Ridding, Schoolmaster and Bishop. By his Wife, LADY LAURA RIDDING. (Edward Arnold, 1908.) 15*s. net.*

THE life of Bishop Ridding fell into three well-marked divisions. After a distinguished student career as scholar of Winchester and commoner of Balliol (there being no vacancy for him on the foundation at New College, though he was head of the school and senior on the roll), with a first in Greats and a second in mathematics, he spent twelve more years at Oxford as fellow and tutor of Exeter. Then came twenty-one years at Winchester, three as second master and eighteen as head-master;

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finally twenty years as the first Bishop of Southwell, where he died in harness at the age of seventy-six. Of the last eight years at Winchester and of the whole of the time at Southwell Lady Laura Ridding, his biographer, can speak with an inside knowledge which no one else could claim. For the earlier period she has drawn on the reminiscences of relations, friends and pupils. The result is a record which will to a great extent be accepted as satisfactory by those who knew the bishop (and acceptance as satisfactory is the highest term of praise possible in the case, since they would regard nothing as too good for their hero), while those who did not know him can hardly fail to recognize that it is a record of a fine and a remarkable character.

The moral of the whole is driven home in an excellent final chapter by another writer, Mr. E. J. Palmer (now Bishop of Bombay), who, as a near relative and examining chaplain and a Wykehamist (though not of Ridding's time), had exceptional opportunities of knowing him intimately. The keynote of his character was 'reality'—the simple sincerity which made him shirk no difficulty, accept no conventions and no self-deceptions, spare no effort to arrive at the completest attainable truth and knowledge. This was also the explanation of the curious literary style which baffled the uninitiated and was the delight of his disciples; for it meant that he had a horror of conventional phrases, and that every thought which he expressed had been made his own and issued restamped with his superscription. It militated, no doubt, against his attaining any wide popularity outside the circles which knew him well, just as his independence of mind prevented his becoming a leader of a party in the Church, with the popular recognition which results therefrom; but it gave him a position of extraordinary power in the hearts of those who were brought much into contact with him, whether at Winchester or at Southwell. The depth and richness of his spiritual nature (veiled by a great reticence and a total absence of display) were revealed more fully as bishop than as schoolmaster, and on this side even Wykehamists will admit that the record of those Southwell years has something to add to their knowledge of him; but honesty, sincerity, broad-mindedness, strength, reality, were the marks of his character from first to last. It is not strange that one of his dearest friends was Archbishop Temple; for the two men, with characteristic differences, had many of their finest qualities in common.

The life of a bishop whose activities are mainly confined to his own diocese gives few opportunities to a biographer; and

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Dr. Ridding's episcopate was almost wholly occupied by the strenuous labour involved in organizing a new see out of two discordant halves. This part of the biography is a chronicle of such labours, and is of interest mainly for the expression of Ridding's opinions on the various problems with which he had to deal. It would have been more interesting if his opinions could have been illustrated more from his letters and less from his published charges and sermons. A biography gains greatly in life and vividness if the subject of it wrote good letters; and Ridding's letters, if sometimes cryptic in utterance, were certainly characteristic. There may be some good reason for the almost total omission of them; but we regret it nevertheless. The Winchester portion, too, good as it is in substance, might have been lightened by an infusion of anecdotes, of which not a few *volitant per ora virum*. Perhaps this would have been easier for a biographer who was not also a wife; and if so, we should withdraw the complaint, for in the main we doubt if anyone less intimate than a wife would have been able to do justice to the inner depths of so reticent and reserved a character. Certainly Lady Laura Ridding has done her work well; and Wykehamists and members of Southwell diocese will be grateful to her for an adequate record of one whose memory is stamped indelibly on their hearts.

Memorials of Old Hampshire. Edited by G. E. JEANS, M.A., F.S.A. (London and Derby: Bemrose, 1906.) 15*s.* net.

IN the chapter describing the church of the Knights Hospitallers at North Baddesley, the late Sir Gilbert Scott is quoted as having summed up its antiquarian interest in the words, 'This church is a sort of epitome in stone of the history of England.' We can, with equal truth, apply the description to Hampshire and say that the county of Southampton is an epitome of the history of England. The two hundred and eighty pages of the *Memorials* represent a successful attempt to throw flashlights on to the dim frescoes painted by history on the walls of the towns, abbeys, churches and houses of Hampshire during twelve hundred years. It may be called a book of suggestions. It does not give us a history of the county, but it gives us well-chosen, well-illumined points of view, from which we study certain groups of buildings and of their inhabitants as seen down the vista of the centuries. The ancient story leaps to light as we move among the Silchester excavations, and are shewn 'the

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remains of the Christian church just outside the south-east corner of the Forum, probably the only example of a Christian church of Roman date that has been found in this country'; or, as we read the legend of the landing at Southampton in 495 A.D. of Cerdic and Cynric (West Saxons); and of 'two stout ships coming six years later to Portsmouth, from which sprang ashore a Saxon chief named Port, with his two sons, who routed the Britons' and gave their name to the harbour.

Again, what contrasting groups are conjured up before our eyes, against the familiar background of the New Forest beeches and bracken, by the description of the fallow deer, as 'of Asiatic origin, introduced, some say, by the Crusaders, but more probably by the Romans'! Or, once more, what thrills of reverence and loyalty awake in us by the allusion to the Titchfield oak, which 'has probably sheltered both Shakespeare and Charles I'! We breathe Tennyson's prayer that

> 'While kingdoms overset,
> Or lapse from hand to hand,
> Thy leaf may never fail, nor yet
> Thine acorn in the land.'

Five chapters are devoted to the great religious houses of Romsey, Christ Church, Beaulieu, Netley and the Knights Hospitallers of North Baddesley. A sense of remoteness comes over us as we read of the royal abbess who had much ado to hide her nieces from the wicked eyes of the Red King, or of the Netley monks holding markets and fairs and exacting toll on the bridges from all other traders: present-day Mother Superiors and Christian Socialist clergy are so very differently occupied. But in the fascinating chapters on Southampton and Portsmouth we feel no loss of touch with the past. It lives for us (to quote Smiles' words) in the generations standing behind us, 'each laying its hand upon its successor's shoulders, and the living generation continuing the magnetic current of action and example, destined to bind the remotest past with the most distant future.'

Professor Hearnshaw in his chapter on Southampton says that, if the story of the landing of Cerdic and Cynric be true, then

> 'Southampton becomes one of the most notable historic places of the world. For, on the one hand, it received the first footprint on English soil of the ancestor of King Edward VII, and formed the first possession of that royal and imperial dominion,—the British Empire;

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and, on the other hand, eleven and a quarter centuries later, it witnessed the departure of that small heroic band, the Pilgrim Fathers, the pioneers of that second mighty branch of the Anglo-Saxon race, in whose hands the future destiny of mankind seems so largely to rest.'

Between these epochs we read of the building of Alfred's ships at Southampton; of Canute receiving his crown from the Witan there and of his rebuking the waves; of the founding of the Merchants' Guild under Henry I; of riches and prosperity accruing from the trade with Gascony and Venice; of honours and offices being heaped upon the Mayor of Southampton on account of the town's national position as a mediaeval stronghold, a gathering-place of armies, a starting-point of fleets and the guardian of the English seas. Towards the end of the fifteenth century a change began: 'The age which saw England advancing to the proud position of a first-rate European power—the era in which the foundations of England's colonial and commercial supremacy were laid—was for Southampton a period of decline, struggle and distress.' 'A monopoly for the import of sweet wines granted to the burgesses by Queen Mary,' the Newfoundland fisheries, naval expeditions, and a Parliamentary Act in 1803 'authorising the making of docks,' gradually brought prosperity back to Southampton. At this moment, when her enormous docks are attracting the great lines of steamers from South Africa and America, the expansion of Southampton appears to threaten Winchester with the portentous fate of becoming its suburb! Let us turn from the contemplation of this hideous nightmare to 'the fascinating theme of Old Portsmouth.' If facts are prominent in the Southampton chapter, persons, holy, great and notable, abound in that of the Rev. G. N. Godwin on Portsmouth. We are told that there is a tradition that St. Paul landed below Portsdown Hill from a Roman 'tramp.' Then passing down the centuries to churchmen of more common clay, we hear how, under Kings John and Henry VII, the Archdeacon of Taunton and Bishop Foy of Winchester acted as good patriots, and were responsible for the defences of docks and harbour. Kings, queens, churchmen, warriors, sailors, nobles pass down the narrow streets in never-ending procession before our eyes. The Duke of Buckingham and his murderer Felton, Mr. and Mrs. Pepys, Judge Jeffreys, Garrick, Nelson on a runaway horse, all the great admirals, the Duke of Wellington, the Allied Sovereigns, Kean, Charles Dickens and a regiment of ghosts

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throng the inns, 'the Hard,' the 'Sallyport,' the harbour, the common. The great crowd seems to jostle us as we read this chapter.

Historic interest also abounds in the chapters on Wolvesey Castle, the College of St. Mary Winton, the ruins of Basing, Bramshill House, Place House, Hurst Castle and the New Forest. The last is full of delightful touches of verderers' lore.

We observe two omissions, which might well be supplied in any future edition of this book. First, in the chapter on wall paintings in churches, no mention is made of the important large fresco of the Doom, discovered during restoration nearly forty years ago, in East Meon Church. This most interesting church is mentioned several times. It is one of the Hampshire churches which possess the remarkable series of twelfth century black fonts so well described on pages 123, 124. The second omission concerns Wolmer Forest. Nothing is said of the Roman antiquities discovered in Wolmer Pond during the latter half of the eighteenth century, nor of the bronze weapons, vases, enamelled cup, and thirty thousand Roman coins (the largest deposit of Roman coins ever found in Great Britain) discovered on the border of the forest at Blackmoor by the late Lord Selborne, 1867–73. He surmised that they marked the site of a battle between the usurper Allectus and Constantius in A.D. 296, and that Constantius' victory recovered Britain to the Romans. These relics are certainly worthy of mention beside the Silchester excavations. We regret that this delightful book has not been reviewed earlier. Happily its value is one which will increase with time. The treasures of the antiquary gain by each century which passes over them, and the careful records of these memorials may well be reckoned among those treasures.

Highways and Byways in Hampshire. By D. H. MOUTRAY READ. With Illustrations by ARTHUR B. CONNOR. (Macmillan and Co., 1908.) 6s.

WE have but one quarrel with the writer of this book. He should not have published it! 'Almost am I tempted,' he says, 'not to disclose where some of these delightful corners may be found, lest when Fate next gives me a holiday, and I hie me to a favourite haunt, 'twill be to find the shy nymph Solitude has fled from the glade,—scared at the approach of too many curious tourists.' Hampshire might have gained had 'the temptation'

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conquered; but the public would have lost a very charming gossipy guide-book.

In no other English county has such threefold destruction been wrought as in Hampshire by hunters for beauty, health, and military camp sites. Mr. Read waxes righteously indignant at their 'defilement' of its face, at their searing it 'with lines of road and rail and deadly ugly lines of iron roof,' at the ruin wrought by the hideous new camps on Wolmer Forest and Tedworth Downs; at the disappearance of gorse and heather, sand dunes, pine woods, and country lanes before the brick and stucco streets, 'the spawn of a day,' of Bournemouth and other towns. But except for this recurrent note of sorrow the book is full of happy charm, of delightful garrulity. With equal interest the author discourses on grim legends, such as the murders of the customs officers at Rake; on 'the almost forgotten craft' of building a chalk wall; on antiquated scandal, such as the penance of the talkative high-born Romsey nun, condemned by the Vicar-General to wear 'a red tongue of cloth on the barbe under the chin for a month'; on the present-day sin of locking up churches; on surviving ancient customs, such as the Hannington children's song on 'Pancake Day,' or the funeral virginal garlands at Abbot's Ann. The sixteen pages describing the Civil War fights at Cheriton, Basing, and Alton are written with the zest of a modern war correspondent; while the soul of a poet shews itself in the beautiful pictures painted in quick bright colour dashes of overhanging lanes, of sparkling, clear chalk streams, of the silent winter fairyland of the New Forest, of the late Queen's funeral passing over the great waterway beneath a sunset sky flooded with glory. These and many other word pictures present the landscape better than do the actual illustrations, which lack atmosphere in the landscapes and anatomy in the trees. The etchings of architectural subjects are, we think, as excellent as they are faithful.

Mr. Read's ecstatic worship of the serene 'majesty of the Downs' should endear him to Hampshire men. He charges his readers to remember 'when they hear the echoes of the open Downlands startled by firing on a lonely rifle range, that a share in the defence of these Downs is not only an obligation but an honour.' These beautiful spaces, 'the perfection of curve and outline,' unhappily need defence, not only from the invader but also from the traitor and 'destroying angel yclept Utility.' If this book makes its readers realize this menace, its author may be forgiven for having revealed in a dangerously attractive form many lovely Hampshire byways hitherto mercifully unknown.

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PERIODICALS

The Journal of Theological Studies (Vol. IX. No. 35. April 1908. Frowde). C. F. Burney: 'A Theory of the Developement of Israelite Religion in Early Times.' Important. C. Jenkins: 'Origen on 1 Corinthians,' II. E. O. Winstedt: 'Some Coptic Apocryphal Legends.' The fragments Borg. ccxci at Naples and MS. Paris. Bibl. Nat. Copte 129[16]. Text and translation. F. E. Brightman: 'The *Historia Mystagogica* and other Greek Commentaries on the Byzantine Liturgy,' II. H. M. Bannister: 'Liturgical Fragments.' A. Anglo-Saxon Sacramentaries. MSS. Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 9488, 10837, 9433. A. S. Walpole: 'Notes on the Text of the Hymns of St. Ambrose.' H. Stuart Jones: 'The Catacomb of Priscilla and the Primitive Memorials of St. Peter.' W. Lock: 'E. F. Scott *The Fourth Gospel*' (8 pages) and 'Milligan *Thessalonians*.' A. E. Brooke: 'Salmon *The Human Element in the Gospels*.' S. A. Cook: 'St. Clair *The Secret of Genesis*' and 'A. R. Gordon *Early Traditions of Genesis*.' M. R. James: 'Ragg *Gospel of Barnabas*.' C. C. J. Webb: 'Gwatkin *Knowledge of God*.' Severe. G. Milligan: 'Some Recent Papyrological Publications.' Useful. C. H. W. Johns: 'Assyriology.' Reviews recent works.

The Expositor (N.S. Nos. 28–30. April–June 1908. Hodder and Stoughton). J. Denney: 'The Cup of the Lord and the Cup of Demons.' D. S. Margoliouth: 'Folk Lore in the O.T.' J. Orr: 'The Resurrection of Jesus. IV. The Credibility of the Witness—the Burial' (May, V. 'The Easter Message.' June, VI. 'The Post-Resurrection'). W. O. E. Oesterley: 'The Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard.' A. R. Eagar: 'St. Luke's Account of the Last Supper: a Critical Note on the Second Sacrament.' J. H. A. Hart: 'A Plea for the Recognition of the Fourth Gospel as an Historical Authority.' J. Moffatt: 'Material for the Preacher' (*continued* May, June). May. G. B. Gray: 'The Heavenly Temple and the Heavenly Altar' I. (II., June). J. Denney: 'He that came by Water and Blood.' W. F. Lofthouse: 'The Social Teaching of the Law.' G. A. J. Ross: '"That Form of Doctrine" (Rom. vi 17): an Appeal.' June. S. R. Driver: 'The Aramaic Inscription from Syria.' Mentions Hazael and Benhadad II. (2 Kings xiii 3, 25). Text and translation. Very Rev. J. H. Bernard: 'St. Paul's Doctrine of the Resurrection: a study of 1 Cor. xv.' T. K. Cheyne: 'Ezekiel's Visions of Jerusalem.' J. H. Ropes: '"Thou hast Faith, and I have Works" (James ii 18).' G. A. Cooke: 'The Expansion of Jerusalem' (Zech. ii 1–5). Oxford University Sermon on Messianic Prophecy, Jan. 1908.

The Hibbert Journal (Vol. VI. No. 3. April 1908. Williams and Norgate). P. T. Forsyth: 'The Distinctive Thing in Christian Experience.' A. O. Lovejoy: 'Religious Transition and Ethical Awakening in America.' G. Lowes Dickinson: 'Knowledge and Faith.' F. Thilly: 'The World View of a Poet: Goethe's Philosophy.' Mgr. J. S. Vaughan: 'What is the Catholic Church?' Sir O. Lodge: 'The Immortality of the Soul. II. The Permanence of Personality.' Drew Lecture 1907. H. F. Petersen: 'An Agnostic's Consolation.' P. E. More: 'The Dualism of St. Augustine.' E. B. M'Gilvary: 'British Pragmatists.' Especially Dr. F. C. S. Schiller. F. J. C. Hearnshaw: '"Law."' Discussions.

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Reviews. H. Jones: 'J. Watson *The Philosophical Basis of Religion*' (5½ pages). W. Jones-Davies: 'Bousset *What is Religion?*' R. A. C. Macmillan: 'Weinel *St. Paul, the Man and his Work*,' '*The Fifth Gospel*,' 'J. M. Campbell *Paul the Mystic*.' G. E. Ffrench: 'K. Lake *Historical Evidence for the Resurrection*' and 'Swete *The Appearances of our Lord after the Passion*.' L. Solomon: 'G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic*.' H. W. Garrod: 'Otto *Naturalism and Religion*.' M. Rhys: 'A Kempis *Founders of the New Devotion* and *Chronicles of Mt. St. Agnes*' [E.T.]. J. Moffatt. 'Klette *Die Christenhatastrophe unter Nero*.' G. Tyrrell: 'W. Scott Palmer *The Church and Modern Men*.' R. T. Herford: 'Oort and Wildeboer *Platen-Atlas tot Opheldering van Bijbelsche Oudheden*.' A portfolio of illustrations.

The Dublin Review (Vol. CXLII. No. 285. April 1908. [Burns and Oates). H. Barry: 'Rome and Democracy.' 'Catholic Social Work in Germany. I. Ketteler the Precursor.' P. Fitzgerald: 'The Worldly Wisdom of Thomas à Kempis.' (The late) Sir C. G. Duffy: 'Personal Memories of J. C. Mangan.' W. S. Lilly: 'The Orthodox Eastern Church.' Reviews Dr. A. Fortescue's book. G. E. Phillips: 'The Cause of the Eleven Elizabethan Bishops.' B. C. A. Windle: 'Stonehenge and the Stars.' 'S. Dominic and S. Francis: a Parallel.' W. Ward: 'Mr. Balfour on *Decadence*.' In the 'Henry Sidgwick Lecture,' 1908. Reviews. '*Father and Son*.' '*The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, II.' B. C. A. W[indle]: 'Kellog *Darwinism To-day*' and 'Garstang *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*.' 'T. D. Seymour *Life in the Homeric Age*.' 'B. Duhr *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*.' '*Cambridge Modern History: Louis XIV*.' 'Gillet *L'Éducation du Caractère*.' 'Mallock *Critical Examination of Socialism*.'

The London Quarterly Review (No. 218. April 1908. R. Culley). F. Ballard: 'Christian Churches and the Modern Outlook.' Reviews 'Peile *Reproach of the Gospel*,' 'R. J. Campbell *Christianity and the Social Order*,' 'Coit *National Idealism and a State Church*' and 'Vivian *The Churches and Modern Thought*.' J. H. Moulton: 'From Egyptian Rubbish-heaps.' Papyri. J. A. Faulkner: 'Wesley's Sociological Views.' E. S. Waterhouse: 'Pragmatism, or The Method of Common Sense in Philosophy.' J. T. L. Maggs: 'Thomas à Kempis.' E. E. Kellett: 'The Training of Teachers.' A. W. Harrison: 'The Lutheran Reformation and Democratic Ideals.' W. F. Moulton: 'The Passion of Christ and its Musical Exponents.' Bach's *St. Matthew*. E. T. Carrier: 'What Japan reads To-day.' Too short—only 2 pages. A. T. U.: 'Lepers and Leprosy in Burma.' Reviews. 'Gregory *Canon and Text of the N.T*.' 'Ragg *Gospel of Barnabas*.' 'Milligan *Thessalonians*.' 'Gordon *Early Traditions of Genesis*.' 'H. Egerton *Is the New Theology Christian?*' 'J. Watson *Philosophical Basis of Religion*.' 'E. A. W. Budge *The Paradise or Garden of the Holy Fathers*.' Translated from Syriac. 'H. v. Schubert *Outlines of Church History*.' 'G. G. Coulton *From St. Francis to Dante*.' 'Clarke and Foxcroft *Life of Bishop Burnet*.' 'M. Masson *Fénelon et Mme. Guyon—documents inédits*.' 'Henson *The National Church*.' 'Scullard *Early Christian Ethics in the West, from Clement to Ambrose*.'

The Irish Theological Quarterly (Vol. III. No. 10. April 1908. Dublin: M. H. Gill). W. Turner: 'Celsus, "the Voltaire of the Second

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Century."' J. MacRory: 'The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel. II. Internal Evidence.' J. M. Harty: 'The Living Wage—a Reply.' To Dr. W. McDonald (Jan.) P. Boylan: 'New Dates in Oriental History.' Reviews 'King *Chronicles concerning early Babylonian Kings*.' W. McDonald: '*The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, I.–II.' J. A. Ryan: 'Note on the Right to a Living Wage *v.* the Right to Profit on an Investment.' Reviews. W. McDonald: 'W. James *Pragmatism*' (5 pages). P. J. Toner: 'J. H. Skrine *What is Faith?*'; 'Weston *The One Christ*' (hostile); 'Beeching *The Bible Doctrine of Atonement*' (critical); 'Cavallera *S. Athanase*.' P. McKenna: 'F. M. de Zulueta *Letters on Christian Doctrine. The Seven Sacraments*, I.'; 'Hilgers *Die Bücherverbote in Papstbriefen*.' J. MacRory: 'Swete *Appearances of our Lord after the Passion*' ('of great value'); 'Milligan *Thessalonians*.' J. McCaffrey: 'Nielsen *The Papacy in the XIXth Century*.'

The American Journal of Theology (Vol. XII. No. 2. April 1908. Chicago University Press). J. H. Tufts: 'The Adjustment of the Church to the Psychological Conditions of the Present.' C. A. Briggs: 'The Virgin Birth of our Lord.' G. B. Foster: 'Concerning the Religious Basis of Ethics.' A. L. Strong: 'Some Religious Aspects of Pragmatism.' L. Wallis: 'J. Orr *The Problem of the O.T.*' (8 pages). E. J. Goodspeed: 'The Syntax of 1 Cor. vii 18, 27.' Compares *Tebtunis Papyri* II. 421. H. P. Smith: '*O.T. and Semitic Studies, in Memory of W. R. Harper*.' J. P. Peters: 'C. A. Briggs *Psalms*' (8 pages). L. W. Batten: 'Thirtle *O.T. Problems*' ('criticism generally fanciful and frequently absurd'). C. B. Williams: 'Rahlfs *Septuaginta-studien*, II.' J. A. Bewer: 'Procksch *Das Nordhebräische Sagenbuch, die Elohimquelle*.' E. J. Goodspeed: 'Gregory *Canon and Text of the N.T.*' D. S. Muzzey: 'Leipoldt *Geschichte des N.T. Kanons*,' I; 'A. d'Alès *La Théologie de S. Hippolyte*.' S. J. Case: 'Jesus in the Light of Recent Gospel Criticism.' D. A. Hayes: 'Spitta *Streitfragen der Geschichte Jesu*.' A. Hoben: 'A. V. G. Allen *Freedom in the Church*'; 'Orr *The Virgin Birth*.' E. B. Krehbiel: 'Kehr *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ante ann. MCLXXXXVIII*. I. *Roma*. II. *Latium*.' A. H. Newman: 'G. H. Putnam *The Censorship of the Church of Rome*.' 'Cheetham *History of the Christian Church since the Reformation*.' F. Johnson: 'L. v. Sybel *Christliche Antike*. I. *Katakomben*'; 'H. B. Workman *Persecution in the Early Church*'; 'A. v. Wretchsko *Der Traktat des Laurentius de Somercote, Kanonikers von Chichester, über die Vornahme von Bischofswahlen, entstanden im Jahre* 1254' ('interesting'); 'W. Moeller *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*. III. *Reformation u. Gegenreformation*'; 'E. König *Ahasver, der ewige Jude*' ('a charming lecture'); 'H. C. Lea *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*.' J. W. Moncrief: 'W. L. Davidson *The Stoic Creed*'; 'Sabatier *Disestablishment in France*.' E. W. Miller: 'Grass *Die russischen Sekten*.' G. B. Foster: 'Hinneberg *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, I.' (favourable); 'O. Pfleiderer *Religion and Historic Faiths*' [E.T.]; 'Höffding *The Philosophy of Religion*.' B. L. Hobson: 'Zöckler *Geschichte der Apologie des Christentums*' (favourable). W. T. Paullin: 'Nohl *Hegels theologische Jugendschriften*'; 'Bornhausen *Die Ethik Pascals*'; 'Köster *Die Ethik Pascals*'; 'Devolve *Religion, critique*

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et philosophie positive chez P. Bayle' ; 'Ballard *Theomonism True*' (unfavourable).

The Princeton Theological Review (Vol. VI. No. 2. April 1908. Princeton University Press). B. B. Warfield : 'The Westminster Assembly and its Work.' K. D. Macmillan : 'Marriage among the early Babylonians and Hebrews.' J. D. Davis : 'The Future Life in Hebrew Thought during the Pre-Persian Period.' J. Orr : 'Autonomy in Ethics.' C. R. Morey : 'The Beginnings of Saint Worship.' Reviews. H. C. Minton : 'Davidson *The Stoic Creed*.' W. B. Greene, jr. : 'Zwemer *Islam, a Challenge to Faith*' ; 'G. W. Knox *Development of Religion in Japan*' ('remarkable'). J. D. Davis : 'Briggs *Psalms*.' J. O. Boyd : 'Griffith Thomas *Gen.* i–xxv 10, *a Devotional Commentary*' (favourable) ; 'A. Noordtzij *De Filistijnen, Hun Afkomst en Geschiedenis*' ('important'). G. Vos : 'Ropes *The Apostolic Age*' ; 'Scott *The Fourth Gospel*' (5 pages : critical). W. P. Armstrong : 'H. P. Forbes *The Johannine Literature and the Acts of the Apostles*' ; 'G. H. Ferris *The Formation of the N.T.*' B. B. Warfield : 'A. d'Alès *La Théologie de S. Hippolyte*.' C. W. Hodge : 'A. H. Strong *Systematic Theology*, I.–II.' (6½ pages).

The Review and Expositor (Vol. V. No. 2. April 1908. Louisville, Ky.). A. H. Sayce : 'Recent Hittite Discoveries.' L. Burrows : 'The Literary Works of Thomas Paine.' J. R. Sampey : 'The Figure of Exaggerated Contrast.' *E.g.* Is. i 11–14, lviii 3–7, Hos. vi 6, viii 11–14, Mic. vi 6–8, Jer. vii 21–3, Luke xiv 26 etc. E. C. Dargan : 'A Study of Homiletical Theory. The Origins before A.D. 400,' II. F. W. Moore : 'The Sociological Function of the Ministry.' W. R. Owen : 'The Catholicity of Christ.' Reviews. C. Goodspeed : 'A. H. Strong *Systematic Theology*, I.–II.' (11 pages). A. T. Robertson : 'Helbing *Grammatik der Septuaginta*' ; 'Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, II.' ; 'Burkitt *The Gospel History and its Transmission*' ; 'Garvie *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus*' ; 'Warfield *The Lord of Glory*' ; 'J. M. Campbell *Paul the Mystic*' (favourable) ; 'K. Lake *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection*' ('an able, but on the whole a sad book') ; 'Ramsay *The Cities of St. Paul*' ; 'R. M. Burrows *The Discoveries in Crete*' ; 'Aglionby *Life of E. H. Bickersteth*.' J. R. Sampey : 'C. R. Brown *Jeremiah*' (7 pages) ; 'E. P. Vining *Israel, or Jacob's New Name*' (= 'God commands' or 'Let God command') ; 'F. C. Eiselen *The Minor Prophets*' ; 'B. W. Randolph *Christ in the O.T.*' ; 'E. Y. Mullins *The Axioms of Religion*' (6½ pages). G. B. Eager : 'Gregory *Canon and Text of the N.T.*' (very favourable). D. F. Estes : 'H. P. Forbes *The Johannine Literature and the Acts*.' W. J. McGlothlin : 'D. S. Schaff *The Middle Ages from Gregory VII, 1049, to Boniface VIII, 1294*' ; 'Grass *Die russischen Sekten*' ; 'A. Eisler *Das Veto der Katholischen Staaten bei der Papstwahl seit dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*' ; 'H. C. Lea *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*' ; 'D. Macmillan *Life of George Matheson*' ; 'H. F. Hall *The Inward Light*.' E. Y. Mullins : 'P. Carus *The Dharma*' ; 'J. Watson *The Philosophical Basis of Religion*.' A. H. Newman : 'O. Pfleiderer *Die Entwichlung des Christentums*.'

The Jewish Quarterly Review (Vol. XX. No. 79. April 1908. Macmillan). C. G. Montefiore : 'Liberal Judaism.' H. S. Q. Henriques : 'Jewish Marriages and the English Law.' E. J. Worman : 'Two Book-

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lists from the Cairo Genizah Fragments.' Hebrew Texts. A. Cohen: 'Hebrew Incunabula in Cambridge.' E. Robertson: 'Notes on Javan' (43 pages). E. N. Adler: 'Lea on the Inquisition of Spain, and herein of Spanish and Portuguese Jews and Marranos' (63 pages). W. Bacher: 'Die Ausdrücke, mit denen die Tradition bezeichnet wird.' S. A. Cook: 'Notes on the Dynasties of Omri and Jehu.' S. Poznański: 'The Murshid of Samuel al-Magribi.' Reviews two books by Dr. N. Weisz and Dr. N. Lorge. S. Daiches: 'The Meaning of "Haraboth."' H. M. Kallen: 'The Eighth Circle of Gehenna, being an Account of the New Circle in Hell destined for Social Reformers.' From the Hebrew of J. L. Peretz.

The Expository Times (Vol. XIX. Nos. 7–9. April–June 1908. T. and T. Clark). C. W. Emmet: 'Prof. Harnack on the Second Source of the First and Third Gospels.' I. (II. May). Reviews *Sprüche u. Reden Jesu.* E. W. Maunder: 'The Triad of Stars.' Very Rev. J. M. Danson: 'The Fall of St. Peter.' J. Rutherfurd: 'St. Paul's Epistle to the Laodiceans.' A. H. Sayce: 'The Archaeology of Genesis—Gen. ii 1–3' (*continued* June. Gen. ii 4–iii). D. Macfadyen: 'Social Theories and the Teaching of Jesus,' V. E. P. Boys-Smith: 'Guardian Angels.' F. P. Badham: 'Phil. ii 6.' Refers to Gen. i, ii—a reference to the apple: 'a thing to be clutched at, and not a thing to be clung to.' N. Herz: 'The Elephantine Papyri.' Reviews: J. G. Tasker: 'The New "Herzog" (*Realencyclopädie*).' H. R. Mackintosh: 'Wendt *System der christlichen Lehre.*' 'R. H. Charles *The Testaments of the XII Patriarchs.*' 'Milligan *Thessalonians.*' 'Watson *The Philosophical Basis of Religion.*' May. H. A. A. Kennedy: 'The Self-Consciousness of Jesus and the Servant of the Lord. I. The O.T. Revelation.' (II. June, 'The Attitude of the N.T. writers'). F. R. Tennant: 'The Origin of Life.' With Bibliography. A. H. Sayce: 'The Hittite Invasion of Babylonia.' Note from a Tablet Brit. Mus. K. 3353. T. M. Rees: '"Another Gospel"' (Gal. i 6) = The Gospel according to the Nazarenes (Hebrews). E. J. Gilchrist: 'And I knew Him not' (Jo. i. 29–34). 'Armitage Robinson *The Historical Character of St. John's Gospel.*' 'H. J. D. Astley *Prehistoric Archaeology and the O.T.*' June. 'The Discovery of a New MS. of the Gospels.' From Akhmîm, now at Detroit. J. A. MacCulloch: 'Saintly Miracles—a Study in Comparative Hagiology.' E. Nestle: '1 Cor. x 9.' J. Iverach: '(The late) J. Adam *The Religious Teachers of Greece.*' Gifford Lectures. 'J. K. Hewison *The Covenanters.*' 'H. Webster *Primitive Secret Societies.*' 'W. Robertson Nicoll *My Father.*' 'H. F. Hall *The Inward Light.*' 'M. A. Currie *The Letters of Luther*' [E.T.]. 'Oesterley *The Evolution of the Messianic Idea.*' 'J. G. Simpson *Christian Ideals.*'

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Patriarchs.' 'Scott *The Apologetic of the N.T.*' 'Acton *History of Freedom* and *Historical Essays.*'

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Modern Psychology.' June. H. Spender: 'Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman. In Memoriam.' W. H. Draper: 'Olympic Games, Old and New.' C. T. Bateman: 'Statistics of the Churches.' E. Jenks: 'Mallock *Critical Examination of Socialism*' (critical). J. H. Ingram: 'Verses ascribed to Shakespeare.' J. I. Bryan: 'The Secret of Japanese Art.' D. MacCarthy: 'The Irony of Samuel Butler.'

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troisième enceinte de Jérusalem, état actuel des recherches.' P. Dhorme : 'Hammourabi-Amraphel.' A. Fabre : 'L'Étoile du Matin dans l'Apocalypse.' A. Jaussen et R. Savignac : 'Nouvelles inscriptions de Hégra.' L. Mariès : 'Remarques sur la forme poétique du Livre de la Sagesse (i 1–ix 17).' E. Levesque : '"Hasir" ou "Hesim"' (Num. xi 5). M. J. Lagrange : 'Les fouilles d'Éléphantine.' H. Vincent : 'A travers Jérusalem, notes archéologiques.' Illustrated. M. J. Lagrange : 'Tillmann *Der Menschensohn*'; 'H. J. Holtzmann *Das messianische Bewusstsein Jesu*'; 'Sanday *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*.' 'P. Gardner *The Growth of Christianity*.' 'K. Lake *The Athos Fragments of the Shepherd of Hermas*.' 'Wessely *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus*.' 'E. A. Abbott *Notes on N.T. Criticism*.' 'Ragg *The Gospel of Barnabas*.' 'Grimme *Das israelitische Pfingstfest u. der Plejadenkult*.' 'Hejcl *Das alttestamentliche Zinsverbot*.' 'G. C. Workman *The Servant of Jehovah*.' 'Steinmetzer *Neue Untersuchung über die Geschichtlichkeit der Judithererzählung*.' 'J. A. Montgomery *The Samaritans*.' 'Cumont *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*.'

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Jahrhundert (2nd edit.), III' (12 pages: very favourable). 'N. Birt *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement.*' '*The Ornaments of the Church and its Ministers* (by Five Bishops).'

Revue des Questions Historiques (No. 166. April 1908. Paris). E. Cosquin: 'Le *Lait de la Mère* et le *Coffre flottant.* Légendes, contes et mythes comparés, à propos d'une légende historique musulmane de Java.' P. Allard: 'Sidoine Apollinaire sous les règnes d'Avitus et de Majorien.' L. Lallemand: 'Les maladies épidémiques en Europe du XVI^e^ au XIX^e^ siècle,' I. M. de Germiny: 'Les brigandages maritimes de l'Angleterre sous le règne de Louis XV,' I. P. de Vaissière: 'Grimm et la Révolution française.' A. Roussel: 'Lamennais d'après ses correspondants inconnus,' II. J. Besse: 'H. Stein *Bibliographie générale des cartulaires français ou relatifs à l'histoire de France.*' L. G. Pelissier: 'A. Manno *Bibliografia storica degli stati della Monarchia di Savoia*'; 'Schiaparelli-Baldasseroni-Federici *Regesta chartarum Italiae*, 2–3.' M. B[esnier]: 'Daux *Le Denier de S. Pierre.*' [E.] M[angenot]: 'Frere *Principles of Religious Ceremonial*'; '*Cambridge Theological Essays*'; 'Newett *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, 1494' (favourable). L. C. Fillion: 'Chauvin *Les Idées de M. Loisy sur le IV^e^ Évangile*' (lengthy). V. Ermoni: 'Hemmer-Oger-Laurent *Les Pères apostoliques.*' P. Allard: 'G. Goyau *S. Mélanie.*' J. Viard: 'Bourgin *Guibert de Nogent, Histoire de sa vie* (1053–1124)'; 'Soehnée *Catalogue des Actes de Henri I^er^* (1031–60)'; 'Thillier-Jarry *Cartulaire de Sainte-Croix d'Orléans* (814–1300)'; 'Laurent *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Molesme* (*Langres*), 916–1250.' A. Roussel: 'Mollat *Études et documents sur l'histoire de Bretagne* (*XIII^e^–XVI^e^ siècles*).' G. Péries: 'Baumgartner *Geschichte u. Recht des Archidiakonates der oberrheinischen Bistümer*'; 'K. H. Schäfer *Die Kanonissenstifter im deutschen Mittelalter.*' P. Pisani: 'Féret *La faculté de Théologie de Paris et ses docteurs les plus célèbres, V. XVII^e^ siècle*'; 'Contrasty *Le mouvement religieux dans la Haute-Garonne.*'

Revue Catholique des Églises (Vol. V. Nos. 2–5. February–May 1908. Paris). A. Gratieux: (1) 'Nicolas Nicolaievitch Népluyef'; (2) 'Une œuvre russe—La confrérie ouvrière fondée par N. N. Népluyef' (*continued* March). L. Venard: 'Les Études bibliques en France, depuis 15 ans.' E. Tavernier: 'Vladimir Soloviev et l'infaillibilité pontificale.' E. Coutan: 'J. A. R. Marriott *Oxford and the Nation.*' M. L[egendre]: 'Goyau *S. Mélanie* (383–439).' March. T. A. Lacey: 'La situation présente de l'Église d'Angleterre.' M. Legendre: 'Chrétiens et Musulmans.' 'Les cas de divorce dans l'Église orthodoxe bulgare.' 'Gennari *Consultations de morale, de droit canonique et de liturgie.*' April. L. Cristiani: 'La notion de l'Église dans S. Ignace d'Antioche.' J. B. Saulze: 'Un clergé paysan et son œuvre sociale.' J. Defer: 'Les Congrès de Velehrad.' A. G[ratieux]: 'Palmieri *La Chiesa russa*' et 'Fortescue *The Orthodox Eastern Church.*' J. Chevalier: 'Acton *History of Freedom and other Essays* and *Historical Essays.*' 'Decretum de Sponsalibus et Matrimonio (*Ne temere*).' May. A. Gratieux: 'A. S. Khomiakof, d'après sa correspondance.' J. Chevalier: 'Cristiani *Luther et le Luthéranisme.*' P. Sevestre: 'Le XV^e^ centénaire de S. Jean Chrysostome.' 'Statistique de la population dans l'Empire russe.' M. Legendre: 'Lecanuet *L'Église de France*, 1870–1878.' 'Lettre de S. S. le Pape Pie X aux cardinaux français.'

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Theologisch Tijdschrift (Vol. XLII. 3. May 1908. Leiden: S. C. van Doesburgh). H. Y. Groenewegen: 'Onze godsdienst en de bijbel.' W. B. Kristensen: 'Een of twee boomen in het Paradijsverhaal?' B. D. Eerdmans: 'Het wijwater.' F. Pijper: 'De belijdenisschriften der Luthersche en Anglikaansche Kerken' (*slot*). Reviews. G. Wildeboer: 'P. Haupt *Purim*' (10 pages). D. Plooy: 'Kölbing *Die geistige Einwirkung der Person Jesu auf Paulus.*' L. Knappert: 'Knipscheer *De invoering en de waardeering der gereformeende belijdenisschriften in Nederland voor 1618*'; 'Brom *Vondels Bekering.*' K. Lake: 'Toxopeus *Karakter en Herkomst van den Jacobusbrief.*'

The Church Missionary Review (Vol. LIX. Nos. 708–10. April-June 1908. C.M.S.). E. Stock: 'The Anglican Communion: a Word to Members of the C.M.S.' D. H. D. Wilkinson: 'The Prophecy of Missions.' Reviews *Manhind and the Church.* G. T. Manley: 'Hinduism in Theory and Practice.' Reviews 'J. C. Oman *Brahmans, Theists and Moslems of India.*' C. D. Snell: 'The Niger Mission—a Jubilee Retrospect,' I. (II. May). 'Mylne *Missions to Hindus.*' 'G. H. Westcott *Kabir and the Kabir Panth.*' May. M. L. G. Carus-Wilson: 'The Church's Missions in Non-Christian Lands.' E. Lewis: 'Great Britain's Blackest Stain: shall it be removed forthwith and how?' The Opium Traffic. P. V. Smith: 'Christianity in Rural India.' 'Ramsay *Cities of St. Paul.*' June. Bishop Tucker (of Uganda): 'The Witnessing Church and her Divine Equipment.' T. A. Gurney: 'The Church's Missions in Christendom.'

The East and the West (Vol. VI. No. 22. April 1908. S.P.G.). S. E. Stokes jun.: 'Interpreting Christ to India—a new Departure in Missionary Work.' F. L. Norris: '"Comity of Missions," II. China.' Bishop of Zululand: 'Zululand To-day.' F. Weston: 'Some African Problems.' H. D. Griswold: 'The Radha Swami Sect in India.' T. P. George: 'Jamaica as a Missionary Centre.' J. M. Ballard: 'George Jehoshaphat Mountain, third Bishop of Quebec' (†1863). 'Mylne *Missions to Hindus.*' 'Elwin *Indian Jottings.*' 'F. L. Norris *China.*'

Books Received.

The more important will be reviewed in short notices or articles as space permits.

Biblical and Kindred Studies.

Barton, G. A.—*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes.* 'International Critical Commentary.' Pp. xiv+212. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.) 8*s.* 6*d.*

Cohu, J. R.—*The Old Testament in the Light of Modern Research.* Pp. xxiv+360. (J. Parker & Co.) 4*s.* net.

Du Bose, W. P.—*High Priesthood and Sacrifice: an Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews.* (Longmans.) 5*s.* net.

Kittel, R.—*Babylonian and Oriental Excavations and early Bible History.* Translated from the German by E. McClure. Edited with a Preface by the Dean of Canterbury. Pp. 80. (S.P.C.K.) 6*d.*

McNeile, A. H.—*The Book of Exodus.* With Introduction and Notes. 'Westminster Commentaries.' Pp. cxxxvi+248. (Methuen.) 10*s.* 6*d.*

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RATTAN, J. T. L.—*Essays on the Apocalypse.* Pp. x+174. (Burns & Oates.) 3*s.* 6*d.* By a retired Army doctor.

RUTHERFORD, W. G. (the late).—*St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians and to the Corinthians.* A New Translation. With a Prefatory Note by SPENSER WILKINSON. Pp. xx+92. (Macmillan.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

SAYCE, A. H.—*The Archaeology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions.* Second Edition, Revised. Pp. 220. (S.P.C.K.) 5*s.*

SCRIVENER, F. H. A. (the late).—*The New Testament in Greek.* According to the Text followed in the Authorised Version together with the Variations adopted in the Revised Version. Pp. xii+656. (Cambridge University Press.) 5*s.* net. A Reprint on India paper.

SMITH, G. ADAM.—*Jerusalem.* The Topography, Economics and History from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70. Two Volumes. Pp. xxii+498, xvi+632. (Hodder & Stoughton.) 24*s.* net. With Maps and Illustrations.

VERNON, A. W.—*The Religious Value of the Old Testament.* With Introduction by A. S. PEAKE. Pp. 96. (London: G. T. Brown.) 2*s.* net.

The Interlinear Psalms. The Authorised Version and the Revised Version, together with the Marginal Notes of the Revised Version. Pp. iv+264. (Cambridge University Press.) 1*s.* 6*d.* net. A pretty little book.

The 'Verba Christi' Testament. The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ with the words of our Lord while upon earth printed in red. Authorised Version. Pp. 462. (Cambridge University Press.) Ruby 48mo.

SAYCE, A. H.—*The 'Higher Criticism' and the Verdict of the Monuments.* Seventh edition, revised. Pp. xx+522. (S.P.C.K.) 5*s.*

TRENCH, G. H.—*The Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ by the Light of Tradition.* Pp. viii+192. (Murray.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

BIBLICAL AND SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

NASH, H. S.—*The Atoning Life.* Pp. x+148. (New York: The Macmillan Co.) 5*s.* net.

PULLAN, L.—*The Teaching of Our Lord.* 'Oxford Church Text Books.' Pp. iv+124. (Rivingtons.) 1*s.* net.

WALKER, W. L.—*The Teaching of Christ in its present Appeal.* Pp. x+240. (T. & T. Clark.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION AND METAPHYSICS.

ADAM, J. (the late).—*The Religious Teachers of Greece.* Being 'Gifford Lectures' on Natural Religion delivered at Aberdeen. Edited, with a Memoir, by his wife, A. M. ADAM. Pp. xx+lvi+468. (T. & T. Clark.) 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

GRAHAM, D.—*The Grammar of Philosophy; a Study of Scientific Method.* Pp. xii+384. (T. & T. Clark.) 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

HOLLAND, H. S.—*The Optimism of Butler's 'Analogy.'* The 'Romanes Lecture,' 1908. Pp. 48. (Clarendon Press.) 2*s.* net.

WODEHOUSE, H.—*The Logic of Will; a Study in Analogy.* Pp. xx+158. (Macmillan.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

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Apologetics.

Egerton, H.—*Liberal Theology and the Ground of Faith.* Essays towards a conservative Re-statement of Apologetic. Pp. viii+248. (Sir I. Pitman.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net. 'Liberal Theology' is reprinted from *C.Q.R.*

Power, M. (S.J.).—*The True Rationalism,* A Lecture delivered in the University of Glasgow before St. Ninian's Society. Pp. 68. (Edinburgh: Sands & Co.) 4*d.* net.

Devotional and Practical Theology.

A Kempis, Thomas.—*Of the Imitation of Christ.* Pp. xxiv+316. (Burns & Oates.) 6*s.* net. Edited by Fr. Thaddeus, Friar Minor.

——.—*The Imitation of Christ,* or, *The Ecclesiastical Music.* An English Translation edited by J. H. Srawley. Pp. xvi+324. (Cambridge University Press.) 1*s.* 6*d.* net. Based on F. B.'s translation 1620, unmutilated.

Armitage, Ven. W. J. (Archdeacon of Halifax, N.S.).—*The Church Year.* Studies for the Sundays, Sacred Seasons and Saints' Days of the Christian Year. With Introductory Note by the Bishop of Ripon. Pp. viii+230. (Frowde.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

B., L.—*What is Truth?* Pp. iv+132. (Elliot Stock.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net. A collection of extracts.

Bickersteth, C.—*Letters to a Godson.* First series. 'How to read the Old Testament in the Light of the New.' Pp. xiv+304. (Mowbray.) 1*s.* net. A new impression in the 'English Churchman's Library' of an excellent book.

Blackburne, G. M. I.—*First Studies in S. Mark.* 'English Churchman's Library.' Pp. xii+122. (Mowbray.) 1*s.* net.

Erck, Mrs. W.—*Parable Stories for G.F.S. Candidates and others on Twelve Rules of Life.* Two volumes. Pp. iv+90, iv+91–182. (Wells Gardner.) 4*d.* each.

Grimley, H.—*Saint Francis and his Friends.* Rendered into English from the Franciscan Chronicles. Pp. xvi+272. (Cambridge University Press.) 1*s.* 6*d.* net.

Healy, S.—*Prayer Book.* A Book of Prayers for Busy People who either have not much time to spare, or who are no great scholars, but who really desire to know, love, and serve God. Pp. 64. (Mowbray.) 3*d.* net.

Kynaston, H.—*The Footsteps of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ followed in Prayer.* A selection from the Prayers appended to the several chapters of the *Vita Jesu Christi* of Ludolphus of Saxony. Translated. Pp. iv+96. (Elliot Stock.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

Lacey, T. A.—*The Mysteries of Grace.* 'English Churchman's Library.' Pp. viii+130. (Mowbray.) 1*s.* net.

Lowe, B. S.—*Prayers in Sickness.* With Preface by the Bishop of Lincoln. Pp. 20. (Elliot Stock.) 1*d.* Seventieth thousand.

Mackey, H. B. (the late) and S. J.—I. *The Mystical Explanation of the Canticle of Canticles: by St. Francis de Sales.* II. *The Depositions of St. Jane Frances de Chantal in the Cause of the Canonisation of St. Francis de*

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Sales. Translated from the French. 'Library of St. Francis de Sales,' VI. With Foreword by the ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER. Pp. xx+254. (Burns & Oates.) 6*s.*

PUSEY, E. B. (the late).—*Prayers; Penitence; Holy Communion.* Gathered from Dr. Pusey's writings together with others from his unpublished MSS. By E. H. and F. H. Pp. xvi+92, xvi+64, xx+88. (Mowbray.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net. Also separately 1*s.* each net.

STEPHEN, C.—*Light Arising: Thoughts on the Central Radiance.* Pp. viii+194. (Cambridge: Heffer. London: Headley.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

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WILBERFORCE, S.—*Agathos, The Rocky Island and other Sunday Stories and Parables.* Pp. x+226. (Cambridge University Press.) 1*s.* 6*d.* net. Originally written when Bp. Wilberforce was rector of Brighstone (I.W.), 1839.

WILKINSON, G. H. (late Bishop of St. Andrews).—*Spiritual Counsels to District Visitors and Others.* 'English Churchman's Library.' Pp. viii +176. (Mowbray.) 1*s.* net.

Short and Simple Family Prayers with Bible Readings. By 'An Englishwoman.' Pp. vi+202. (Elliot Stock.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

SERMONS AND ADDRESSES.

INGRAM, RIGHT REV. A. F. WINNINGTON (Bishop of London).—*The Love of the Trinity.* Pp. viii+328. (Wells Gardner.) 1*s.* Addresses in his Central London Mission, 1908.

SINGER, S. (the late).—*Literary Remains.* Selected and edited by I. ABRAHAMS. Three volumes. I. *Lectures and Addresses.* II. *Sermons and Memoir.* III. *Sermons to Children.* Pp. x+294, xlvi+286, xx+246. (Routledge.) 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

WILKINSON, MOST REV. G. H. (late Bishop of St. Andrews).—*The Invisible Glory.* Selected Sermons. With a Preface by the BISHOP OF LONDON. Pp. xii+334. (Mowbray.) 5*s.* net.

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PATRISTIC STUDIES.

BETHUNE-BAKER, J. F.—*Nestorius and his Teaching.* A fresh Examination of the Evidence. With special Reference to the newly discovered Apology of Nestorius (*The Bazaar of Heraclitus*). Pp. xviii+232. (Cambridge University Press.) 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

LUPTON, J. M.—*Q. Septimi Florentis Tertulliani 'De Baptismo.'* Edited with an Introduction and Notes. Pp. xliv+80. (Cambridge University Press.) 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

RADFORD, L. B.—*The Epistle to Diognetus.* 'Early Church Classics.' Pp. 96. (S.P.C.K.) 1*s.* 6*d.*

——.—*Three Teachers of Alexandria; Theognostus, Pierius and Peter.* A Study in the early History of Origenism and Anti-Origenism. Pp. xii +90. (Cambridge University Press.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

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History and Antiquities.

Balleine, G. R.—*A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England.* Pp. xii + 338. (Longmans.) 5*s.* net.

Berridge, W.—*Makers of the Scottish Church.* Pp. 212. (T. & T. Clark.) 2*s.*

Bevan, G. M. (edited by).—*Portraits of the Archbishops of Canterbury.* Pp. 120. (Mowbray.) 3*s.* 6*d.*

Biggs, C. R. Davey.—*Russia and Reunion.* A Translation of 'Wilbois *L'Avenir de l'Eglise Russe*'; together with Translations of Russian Official Documents on Reunion and English Orders. Pp. xii + 264. (Published for the Eastern Church Association by A. R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

Bispham, C. W.—*St. Gall, Patron Saint of Switzerland.* Translated from the writings of Walafrid Strabo and an unknown Monk. Pp. 76. (New York: E. S. Gorham.)

Dover, Bishop of.—*Progress of the Church in London from the Accession of Queen Victoria to* 1908. With Preface by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Pp. viii + 116. (S.P.C.K.) 1*s.* 6*d.*

Henderson, B. W.—*Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire,* A.D. 69-70. A Companion to the *Histories* of Tacitus. Pp. xvi + 360. (Macmillan.) 8*s.* 6*d.* net. With Maps and Illustrations.

Hutton, W. H.—*The Age of Revolution.* Being an outline of the History of the Church from 1648 to 1815. 'The Church Universal.' Pp. viii + 302. (Rivingtons.) 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

Pearce, E. H.—*English Christianity in its Beginnings.* Pp. 112. (S.P.C.K.) 1*s.* 6*d.*

Richards, W. J.—*The Indian Christians of St. Thomas, otherwise called the Syrian Christians of Malabar.* A Sketch of their History and an Account of their present condition, as well as a Discussion of the Legend of St. Thomas. With Preface by E. Stock. Pp. xx + 138. (Bemrose.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

Thackeray, F. St. J.—*Christian Biographies through Eighteen Centuries.* Compiled from various sources. Pp. 208. (S.P.C.K.) 3*s.* 6*d.*

A Brief Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfort, 1554–1558 A.D. Attributed to William Whittingham, Dean of Durham, 1575 A.D. Edited by E. Arber. Pp. xxviii + 260. (Elliot Stock.) 3*s.* net.

Liturgica and Music.

Maitland, J. A. Fuller (edited by).—*Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians.* Vol. IV. Q. to S. Pp. viii + 812. (Macmillan.) 21*s.* net.

Mocquereau, Dom A. (Prieur de Solesmes).—*Le Nombre Musical Grégorien ou Rythmique grégorienne; Théorie et Pratique.* Tome I. Pp. 430. (Rome, Tournai: Desclée et Cie.) 6 *fr.*

Santley, Sir C.—*The Art of Singing and Voice Declamation.* Pp. xvi + 144. (Macmillan.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

Wilson, H. A. (edited by).—*The Order of the Communion* 1548. A Facsimile of the British Museum Copy C. 25, f. 15. Pp. xlvi + 20 + 56 + 24. 'Henry Bradshaw Society' Publications, Vol. XXXIV. (London: Printed for the Society by Harrison & Sons.) By subscription.

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Missions.

Lloyd, A.—*The Wheat among the Tares : Studies of Buddhism in Japan.* A Collection of Essays and Lectures, giving an unsystematic Exposition of certain missionary Problems of the Far East, with a Plea for more systematic Research. Pp. xvi+146. (Macmillan.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

Zwemer, S. M., and Brown, A. J.—*The Nearer and Farther East.* Outline Studies of Moslem Lands, and of Siam, Burma and Korea. Pp. xvi +326. (New York : The Macmillan Co.) 1*s.* 3*d.* net.

Political Philosophy and Economics.

Lowell, A. L.—*The Government of England.* Two Volumes. Pp. xvi+570, x+564. (Macmillan.) 17*s.* net.

Muirhead, J. H.—*The Service of the State : Four Lectures on the Political Teaching of T. H. Green.* Pp. xvi+118. (Murray.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

Royce, J.—*The Philosophy of Loyalty.* Pp. xiv+410. (New York : The Macmillan Co.) 6*s.* 6*d.* net.

Scholes, T. E. S.—*Glimpses of the Ages, or, the 'Superior' and 'Inferior' Races, so-called, discussed in the Light of Science and History.* Vol. II. Pp. x+494. (John Long.) 12*s.* net.

Tuckwell, G. M., and Smith, C.—*The Worker's Handbook.* Pp. xii+ 252. (Duckworth.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

Wells, H. G.—*New Worlds for Old.* Pp. viii+356. (Constable.) 6*s.*

Biography and General Literature.

Austin, A.—*Sacred and Profane Love, and other Poems.* Pp. viii+114. (Macmillan.) 4*s.* 6*d.* net. By the Poet Laureate.

Baldwin, W. (A.D. 1555).—*The Sayings of the Wise, or Food for Thought.* A Book of Moral Wisdom, gathered from the ancient Philosophers. [Edited by E. Arber.] Pp. xii+196. (Elliot Stock.) 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

Brown, T. E. (the late).—*Poems.* Selected and arranged with an Introduction and Notes by H. F. B. and H. G. D. Pp. l+284. (Macmillan.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net. A most welcome addition to the 'Golden Treasury' Series.

Burrows, S. M. (edited by).—*Autobiography of Montagu Burrows.* With a Supplementary Note by C. Oman. Pp. xxii+260. (Macmillan.) 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

Craik, Sir H.—*Impressions of India.* Pp. viii+252. (Macmillan.) 3*s.* net.

Dickens, Charles (the late).—*Our Mutual Friend.* A Reprint of the edition corrected by the Author in 1869, with an Introduction, Biographical and Bibliographical, by Charles Dickens the younger. Pp. xxviii+783. (Macmillan.) 3*s.* 6*d.* Illustrated by Marcus Stone in the familiar green edition.

Duncan, D.—*The Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer.* Pp. xvi+622. (Methuen.) 15*s.* net.

Ellis, C.—*Shakespeare and the Bible.* Shakespeare : a Reading from the Merchant of Venice ; Shakespeariana : Sonnets with their Scriptural Harmonies Interpreted. Pp. 288. (To be had of the Librarian, Bethnal Green Free Library, London, N.E.) 2*s.* 6*d.*

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FAULKNER, J. A.—*Erasmus: the Scholar.* 'Men of the Kingdom' Series. Pp. 250. (Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham.) 1 dollar.

FLETCHER, GILES and PHINEAS.—*Poetical Works.* 'Cambridge English Classics.' Edited by F. S. BOAS. Volume I. Pp. xxvi+310. (Cambridge University Press.) 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

HARRISON, F.—*National and Social Problems.* Pp. xxx+462. (Macmillan.) 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

MEREJKOWSKI, D.—*The Life Work of Calderon; of Henrik Ibsen; of Montaigne; of Pliny the Younger.* Translated from the Russian by G. A. MOUNSEY. Four Volumes. Pp. iv+44, iv+72, iv+66, iv+64. (A. Moring.) 1*s.* 6*d.* each net.

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PROTHERO, R. E.—*The Pleasant Land of France.* Pp. viii+360. (Murray.) 10*s.* 6*d.* net. See Article.

RIDDING, LADY LAURA.—*George Ridding, Schoolmaster and Bishop.* By his Wife. Pp. xiv+370. (E. Arnold.) 15*s.* net. See Short Notice.

ST. LEGER, E.—*Dapper.* Pp. 118. (S.P.C.K.) 1*s.* 6*d.*

SELOUS, F. C.—*African Nature Notes and Reminiscences.* Pp. xxx+356. (Macmillan.) 10*s.* net. With a 'Foreword' by President Roosevelt and Illustrations by E. Caldwell.

SNEYD-KYNNERSLEY, E. M.—*H.M.I.: Some Passages in the Life of one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools.* Pp. viii+358. (Macmillan.) 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

MISCELLANEOUS.

C., S.—*The Divine Sovereignty in Nature and in the Church and the apparent Position and Call of the Anglican Communion as Typified in the Old Testament.* Pp. 90. (London: Church Printing Co.) 6*d.* net.

HOBHOUSE, W.—*A Sketch of the First Four Lambeth Conferences,* 1867–1897. Pp. 64. (S.P.C.K.) 6*d.* Reprinted from *The Guardian.*

'JUNIUS JUNIOR.'—*Pope Pacificus.* Pp. 64. (S.P.C.K.) 6*d.*

KEMPSON, F. C.—*The Church in Modern England.* A Study of the Place in Christendom and the Distinctive Missions to the World of the Anglican Communion. Pp. x+216. (Sir I. Pitman.) 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

MALDEN, R. H.—*Some Thoughts on Disestablishment.* Pp. 30. (S.P.C.K.) 2*d.*

PENSTONE, M. M.—*A Cycle of Nature Study suitable for Children under twelve Years of Age.* Being suggestions for Teachers in Town and Country Schools. Pp. x+400. (National Society.) 3*s.* 6*d.*

RYE, R. A.—*The Libraries of London: a Guide for Students.* Prepared on the Instruction of the Senate of the University of London. Pp. 90. (University of London.) 6*d.* net.

SHARPE, A. R.—*More Bishops much needed.* 'Heyford Papers,' No. 6. Pp. 56. (Mowbray.) 3*d.*

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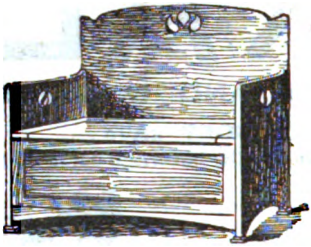

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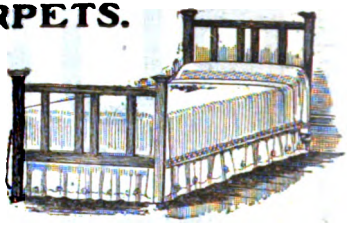

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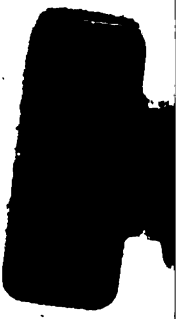

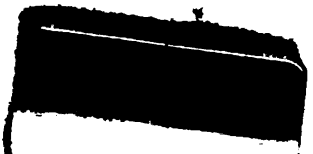

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